LIVES OF HARRISON AND MORTON

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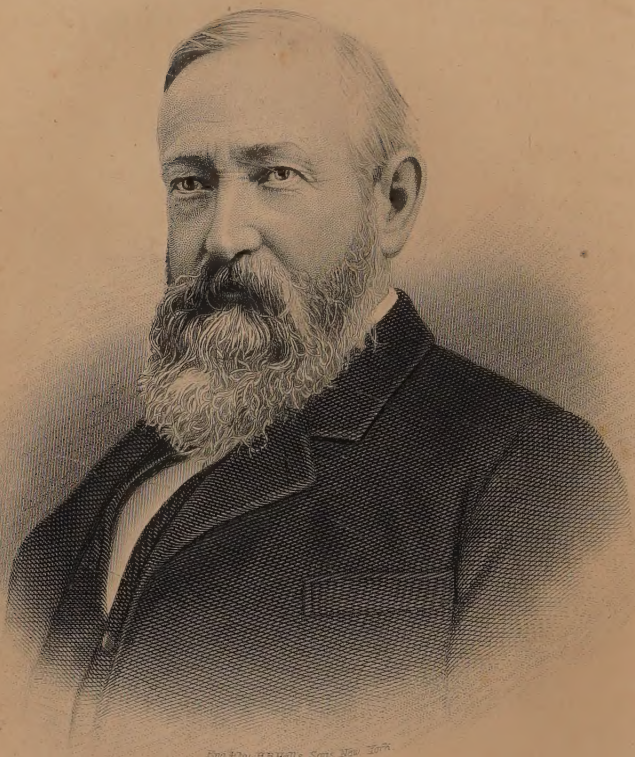

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Benj Harrison

LIFE OF

GEN. BEN HARRISON.

BY

GEN. LEW WALLACE,

Author of "BEN HUR."

ALSO,

LIFE OF HON. LEVI P. MORTON.

BY

GEORGE ALFRED TOWNSEND.
(GATH.)

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PREFACE.

THE critical reader will discover in this biography many crudities in the way of unstudied sentences and inapposite paragraphing, not to speak of words badly chosen. It is thought, however, that the reminder of the one month given in which to prepare it for the press will be sufficient to win him to the side of mercy. Dictation is undoubtedly a conveniency where one is under whip and spur, but as a method its tendencies are all to slovenliness and inexactitude. Here it was an only resort.

Apropos of the prefatory, the political world is served with special notice that while General Harrison was very kind in furnishing the writer with information when it was requested of him, he is in no degree responsible for anything in the work, except it appears in the form of a copy or extract from his own reported utterances. He neither read nor heard read one line of the text; neither was he consulted as to the topics treated nor the arrangement adopted; in short, his sole

responsibility in the connection, aside from the exception stated, is referable to the fact that when it was put upon him to choose a biographer he expressed a preference for the undersigned.

LEW. WALLACE.

NEWPORT, R. I., *August* 6, 1888.

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GEN. BENJAMIN HARRISON:

A BIOGRAPHY.

BY

GENERAL LEW. WALLACE,
AUTHOR OF "BEN HUR."

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY.

EVERY citizen is free to contend for honor and preferment in our country, and the contention is perpetual. A peculiarity of the struggle is that the whole people witness the start, the effort, and the outcome. When at length a contestant emerges from the throng, ready to lay his hand upon one of the great prizes, every spectator demands to know all there is knowable of him. The subject of this sketch has just reached that point in a career for the Presidency, and it is to at least partially gratify the hunger of the multitude for information of the man that these pages are respectfully offered them.

There shall never be a perfect biography that does not tell the reader who its subject is, and what, aside from his name and the place and date of his birth. That shall be the best biography which gives us the incidents of his life, and at the same time an insight into his nature and character; so that, when we have risen from the reading, it will be possible to say and believe we know him in and out, and that he is worthy or unworthy our respect and confidence.

To every life there is a beginning and an end; it is the same in the narration of lives, only the difficulty in the latter is to find the true beginning. That difficulty is before the writer now.

Undoubtedly the American people, when sitting in judgment upon an individual who has ventured to claim their attention and bespeak their good will, care little for his ancestry. It is the person himself that is on trial. They know that good fathers have base children; and in such cases the invocation of the worthy progenitors, by exciting compassion for them as a result of comparison, but intensifies the opinion invariably reached respecting the descendants. On the other hand, if the record discloses a scion in whom the noble traits of his forefathers are continued and yet further exemplified, the same people rejoice at the discovery and make haste to take him into favor. In fact this is the American law of the case—well for the parent if he have a worthy son, well for the son if he have had a worthy parent.

With such a view of the law, there would be no hesitation on the part of the writer in dealing with the ancestry of the Benjamin Harrison whose life he is called upon to give. There is no fear of the consequences of fair comparison. The traits that endeared the forefathers to their countrymen will be found in the descendant. The qualities of mind that raised them to distinction

have been not less promotive of him. Their devotion to freedom, to the good of the masses, to principle, to truth and God, he has equally illustrated. They were wise in peace; so is he. Their courage in war has been a matter of emulation with him. They were willing to be offered in sacrifice for their country; he has made it possible for his generation to believe them sincere in the offer.

The question, however, admits of another view. Simple literary requirement bids that notice be taken of the antecedent Harrisons. A man's history is often found quite as much in what has gone before his birth as in what has succeeded it. Omission of the first part would leave his biography but half written. If the reader is careless of the first part, he is at liberty to skip it: nevertheless, as certainly as a book has a reader, it has also a critic. We take the liberty of giving this chapter to the ancestry of Benjamin Harrison, the Republican candidate for President.

THOMAS HARRISON.

There was in the first half of the sixteenth century a Thomas Harrison, known as Harrison the Cromwellian. It is thought that he began life as a vendor of beef in the open market, and he might have continued such indefinitely in his native England but for the quarrel between Charles I. and Parliament. Macaulay has made

it unnecessary to speak at length of the points involved in that dispute. Briefly stated, the king claimed certain privileges by prerogative right. Parliament denied the claim, and protested against it in the name of the people of England. Theretofore there had been English kings and barons; then for the first time an English people was distinctively heard of. The dispute was waged through a long term of years. Parliaments came and went at the royal pleasure. At last one assembled to stay. In the meantime battles had been fought, and war grew into a normal condition of the country, finally involving Cromwell and his Roundhead battalions. With reputation born of hard fighting and much praying, not to speak of a skillful use of Scriptural phrases, illustrative of sincere religious convictions, up, one of many, rose Thomas Harrison. Swapping his butcher's apron for a martial cloak, he at length appeared a Lieutenant-General, beloved by the companies, trusted by Cromwell. Nor were his talents of exclusive application to the field. One great day he was found in his seat, a member of the Parliamentary Court in session for the trial of Charles I. There is an historical picture of the assemblage in ruffs and broad-brimmed, steeple-crowned hats, sitting solemn as ghosts, with the king over against them face-to-face. A company of ghosts had been doubtlessly of pleasanter aspect and sweeter effect to the monarch's troubled soul.

Lieutenant-General Harrison was amongst them. Though now unrecognizable, we know he was there because his signature, in a hand clear, legible, almost as bold as John Hancock's on an instrument of yet greater celebrity, may be read below the death-warrant which was the final resolution of the high court. Opposite it is his seal in red wax on which, singularly enough, is stamped an eagle winged like the bird on our silver dollar.

The staunchness of the man was subsequently tested. Upon the return of the royalists to power, like other regicides, he might have fled to America, and found refuge in its impenetrable woods. That, however, was not his way. He remained at home, was seized, summarily convicted, and executed. Pepys was an eye-witness of the execution, and saw the heart of the roundhead Lieutenant-General borne round as evidence that the son of the king had come to his own again.

This Thomas Harrison, right-hand man of the great English Protector, has been claimed by certain historians as ancestor of the American Harrisons. The proofs do not exactly sustain the assertion. The date of the emigration of the descendants of the unfortunate soldier is wanting. In fact it is not positively known that he had descendants to emigrate. Still a tradition in the family holds him one of them, and it is corroborated by the probabilities. England under

Charles II. would have been an unpleasant residence for children of a regicide. The inducements to fly to Virginia were irresistible. But whatever of truth there may be in the claim that Thomas Harrison the Cromwellian was a forefather of the present candidate for the Presidency is of little consequence, except as it may establish that the family is of Roundhead origin versus Cavalier, and that its founder, rising from the people, fought and died for the people. Wherever the dust of the heart torn from his breast for the perfection of the revenge of a tyrant may be, pity that it is unrecognizable! There would be one at least to hold it sacred. Wherever his bones were buried, if burial they had, peace to them!

BENJAMIN HARRISON, THE SIGNER.

The next ancestor of whom we hear is of positive identity.

There is a genealogical tree of the Carters of Virginia of elaborate and careful preparation on which appears the name of one Benjamin Harrison, of Berkley. He secured his place on the record by virtue of intermarriage with the Carters. A little further on appears a second Benjamin Harrison, also of Berkley, and he has the immortal inscription attached to his name—SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. He is recorded as having married a Miss Bassett.

Thenceforward the genealogy of the American Harrisons is removed from doubt.

The Carter tree referred to shows several children born to the second Benjamin, of whom William Henry Harrison was second son.

There was great glory in being a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Still it might have been a fortuity. Happy accidents are of daily occurrence. Let us turn to history and see what kind of man the signer was. In what esteem did his contemporaries and fellow-citizens hold him? The answer may surprise a great many readers. It is right, moreover, to measure his influence and capacity by the honors of which he died possessed.

In 1764, when little more than a boy, he was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which he quickly became Speaker.

This was in provincial days. Attracting notice of the royal governor, that worthy sought to win him to his side. Directly that the excitement caused by the passage of the Stamp Act arose, young Harrison was offered a seat in the Executive Council. He rejected the overture. Throwing off all reserve, he proclaimed himself a Republican, and from that time was a leader in the opposition to British oppression.

In 1774 he was one of the first seven delegates from Virginia to the Continental Congress.

In 1775 he was re-elected delegate to Congress.

In the same year he was of the committee appointed by Congress to co-operate with George Washington, then chief commander of the army before Boston, in devising ways and means for military operations.

In 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was under consideration by Congress in committee of the whole, he was in the chair presiding. On the 4th of July he voted for the Declaration, and on the 4th of August signed it.

In 1777 he resigned his seat in Congress, but was at once elected a Burgess, and upon taking his seat in the House was chosen Speaker, and remained such until 1782. Arnold invading Virginia, Harrison was made commander of the militia of his county, and rendered good service in repelling the traitor. Yet later he took the field against Cornwallis.

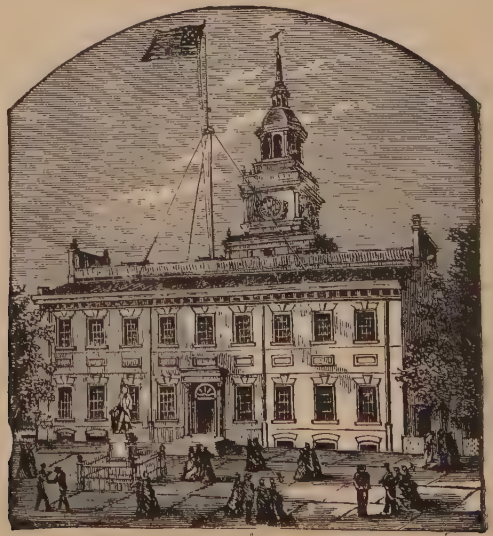
In 1782 he was elected Governor of Virginia, then a State of the American Union. Having filled the office twice in succession, he retired to private life only to be returned again to the House of Burgesses.

In 1791 he was chosen Governor of the State a third time, but died before inauguration.

It is not possible to sneer away the honor of this record. Indeed, it would be surpassingly strange should such be the disposition of any American. If the glory attaching to a Signer of the Declaration might not be transcended, it was

CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

(Where the Continental Congress met.)



OLD STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA.

(Where Independence was declared.)

left to a son to sustain and even add to it. Let us see.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Benjamin, the Signer, was rich when he entered public service; but as the newly born country was poor, he was lavish of his own means, and died in comparative poverty. The second son, William Henry, was under age when his father was laid away.

Though he had the guardianship of Robert Morris, the financier, his affairs were so badly off that he determined to find a livelihood in the practice of medicine, and for that purpose was in Hampden Sidney College when a great Indian war broke out in the West. He laid his books aside to join St. Clair's army. Robert Morris opposed the scheme, but President Washington favored it, and commissioned him ensign in the first regiment of regular artillery, then in garrison at Fort Washington, in the vicinity of Cincinnati. This, let it be remembered, was when he was nineteen years of age.

He won his first distinction immediately. Harmer had been defeated by the Indians. A like misfortune befell St. Clair. The consternation was universal. He performed a perilous duty in the dead of winter with such *eclat* that his veteran chief St. Clair caused him to be promoted full lieutenant. In 1793 he joined *Mad Anthony* Wayne, and was installed aide-de-camp. In

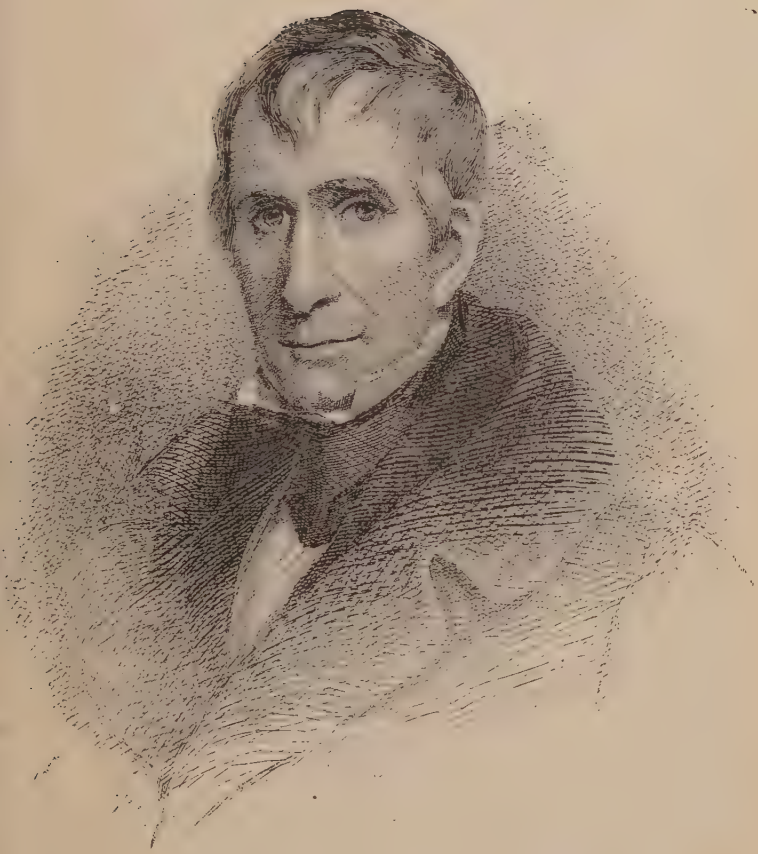
Wayne's official report of his victory he made mention "of his gallant aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Harrison," who was shortly promoted captain, and placed in command of Fort Washington, with discretionary authority.

In 1797 Wayne died. Captain Harrison resigned from the army, and was appointed Secretary of the Northwestern Territory, and *ex-officio* Lieutenant-Governor.

So satisfactory to the people was the young man's administration that, in 1798, the Territory having become entitled to a seat in Congress, he was chosen delegate.

In the first session succeeding, the Northwestern Territory was divided; a separate Territory, now the State of Ohio, was carved out of it, the residue becoming the *Territory of Indiana*, of which Harrison was appointed Governor.

The vastness of the region which thus fell under his sway was but little comprehended. It embraced Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, and all the vaguely bounded *Louisiana*, then of recent purchase. Few empires have equalled it in extent. Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin as at that time constituted had three important white settlements: Clark's Grant at the falls of the Ohio; Vincennes on the Wabash; a third on the Mississippi. The country, forest and prairie, was Indian. The business of the young Governor was to wrest it from savagery; and for that



W. H. Harrison

purpose he was clothed with power more nearly imperial than any ever exercised by one man in the Republic. He was authorized to adopt and publish such laws, civil and criminal, as were best adapted to the condition of the Territory; he could arbitrarily create townships and counties, and appoint civil officers, and militia officers under the grade of general. Most extraordinary of all, however, to him belonged the confirmation of an important class of land grants. In this regard his authority was absolute. Other approval or countersign was not required. The application was to him originally; his signature was the perfect evidence of title. When one thinks of the temptations to which he was subjected, and of the fortune he might have amassed, the fact that he issued from the trial poor, and without a taint upon his honor, must be regarded as creditable to him in the highest degree. His reputation may be rested upon this circumstance quite as safely as upon his military record.

As Governor of Indiana Harrison was *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to which was shortly added the commissionership for treating with the Indians. These duties brought him into connection with the tribes, and ultimately called him to the field against them.

The sketch, necessarily hurried and brief, presents William Henry Harrison as a civilian; the reader is now invited to study him as a soldier.

He must be brought to mind a young man, tall, slender, handsome, of graceful carriage, military in manner, with large black eyes and an intellectual face. In 1798, when he was ruler of the Territory of Indiana, he was but twenty-five years of age, and of extremely youthful appearance.

From Vincennes, his seat of government, he held communication with the authorities of Washington, and strove to keep the great Indian tribes in check, basing his policy in dealing with them upon a foundation of justice. He could probably have kept peace with them but for the intrigues of the British in Canada, and the ambition of the two brothers, *Tecumseh*, the Crouching Panther, and *Elkswatawa*, the Loud Voice or Prophet. In 1806 these children of the forest dreamed of a universal confederation of all the tribes for the redemption of the Western world from the usurpations of the pale-faces, and to that end set a great conspiracy on foot. They had promises of support from the Father beyond the Great Lake. Eventually Tecumseh challenged the young governor at Vincennes to the conflict. There were at that time scalps of white women and children flying on a string at his wigwam door. The defiance was accepted. Harrison took the field in person.

On the morning of November 7, 1811, he fought and won the battle of Tippecanoe.

The victory, as respects consequence, was

nullified by the war with England, known as the War of 1812.

The first engagement was disastrous to the American arms. The surrender of Fort Detroit by General Hull, after a fight which remains incomprehensible to this day, gave the enemy a base of operations on the soil of the United States. It had the effect, however, of arousing the martial spirit of the entire Northwest. The thoughts of all the men in that region turned to Harrison as their saviour. The jealousy of the then Secretary of War was evaded by his appointment as *Major-General of the Militia of Kentucky*. On the 1st of September, 1812, the President formally commissioned him Brigadier-General, with instructions to take command of all the forces in the Territories of Indiana and Illinois. His authority was remarkable—"Exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases according to your own judgment." He was already in the field when the instruction was received. Afterwards everywhere that he met the enemy in person he was successful.

He repulsed the British and Indians at Fort Meigs. To a demand for surrender, he replied, "Tell General Proctor that if he shall take the fort it will be under circumstances that will do him more honor than a thousand surrenders."

In an open field fight on the banks of the Thames he drove the British from their chosen

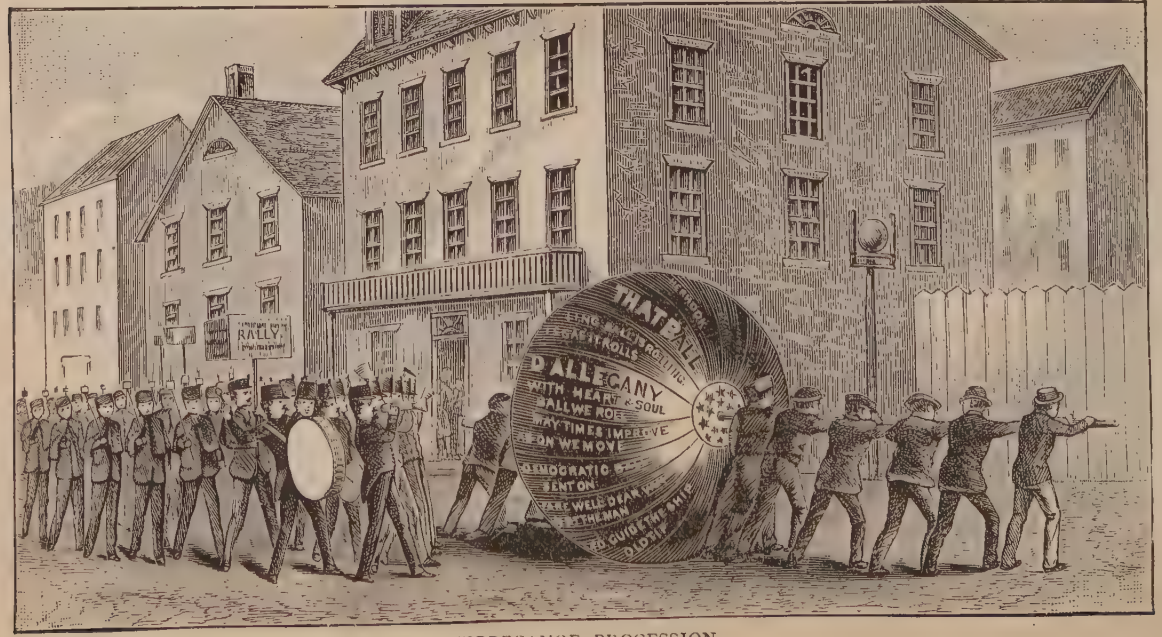
position. Tecumseh fell there fighting like a hero. His confederacy fell with him.

The reputation of Harrison spread throughout the nation, and, driven to resignation by the jealousy of Armstrong, Secretary of War, he left the army with the popular entitlement of FATHER OF THE NORTHWEST.

From the alarms of war the good man sought peace in the bosom of his family. But again the people demanded service of him.

In 1824 he was elected Senator of the United States from Ohio. Then, after a short term as Minister to the Republic of Colombia, he retired to his home at North Bend on the Ohio river. The governor, the general, the senator, resolved himself into the farmer, and, old Roman-like, was content to follow the plough. Still the people claimed him.

On the 4th of December, 1839, a National Whig Convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, nominated him unanimously their candidate for the Presidency. The race was one of the most memorable in our political annals. Eighteen hundred and forty became a year of mark for events public and private. Never was there a rising of the people so spontaneous and effective. The whole land teemed with processions and resounded with songs. William Henry Harrison was elected, and as President of the United States administered the government precisely one month,



TIPPECANOE PROCESSION.

when he died, leaving a clean record of the most varied service extending through a period of fifty years. The day will come when the humble tomb, sheltering the bones of the hero on the knoll above the Ohio, will be changed to a monument significant of the gratitude of the millions at home in the Northwest, with the redemption of which he had so much to do as Citizen and Soldier.

The message he delivered at his inauguration on the 4th of March, 1841, was a plain document of the style of Washington. Some of the sentiments advanced therein have a peculiar pertinency to politics of to-day. The following extracts will no doubt be understood and appreciated:

> But the greatest danger to our institutions appears to me to be, not so much in an usurpation by the Government collectively of power not granted by the people, as in the accumulation in one of the departments of powers which were assigned to others. . . . .
>
> I proceed to state in as summary a manner as I can my opinion of the sources of the evils which have been so extensively complained of, and the correctives which may be applied. Some of the former are unquestionably to be found in the defects of the constitution. Others in my judgment are attributable to a misconstruction of some of its provisions. Of the former is the ineligibility of the same individual to a second term of the presidency. The sagacious mind of Mr. Jefferson early saw and lamented this error. . . . .
>
> It may be observed, however, as a general truth, that no Republic can commit a greater error than to adopt or continue any feature in its system of government which

may be calculated to create or increase the love of power in the bosoms of those to whom necessity obliges them to commit the management of their affairs; and surely nothing is more likely to produce that effect than the long continuance in the same hands of an office of high trust. Nothing can be more corrupting, nothing more dangerous to all those noble sentiments and principles which form the character of a devoted Republican patriot. When this insidious passion once takes possession of the human mind like the love of gold it becomes insatiable. It is the never-dying worm in his bosom, which grows with his growth and strengthens with the declining years of its victim. If this be true it is the part of wisdom for a Republic to limit the service of that officer at least to whom she has entrusted the management of her foreign relations, the execution of her laws, and the command of her armies and navies to a period so short as to prevent his forgetting that he is the accountable agent, not the principal; the servant, not the master, of the people. Until an amendment to the Constitution can be effected, public opinion, if firm in its demands, may secure the desired object. I cheerfully second it by renewing the pledge heretofore given that under no circumstances will I consent to serve a second term.

. . . . . .

I consider the veto power, therefore, given by the Constitution to the executive of the United States, solely as a *conservative power* to be used only—

1st. To protect the Constitution from violation.

2d. The people from the effects of hasty legislation, where their will has been probably disregarded or not well understood, and

3d. To prevent the effects of combinations, violative of the rights of minorities.

JOHN SCOTT HARRISON.

The third son of President William H. Harrison was christened John Scott. His life was

comparatively uneventful. Still it should not be passed as unworthy separate notice.

His youth was spent upon the farm at North Bend. The repeated and long-continued absences of his father in and about official duties demanded a confidential agent to superintend home affairs. So it resulted that the second of the sons became a farmer; and from all that can be gleaned of him this was strictly in consonance with his tastes. He was of a quiet, meditative turn. The bustle and jostling of great crowds were distasteful to him. He loved best to sit with his family by the door of summer evenings. The education of the boys absorbed every thought aside from his farm. He lived chiefly for them. As, in his later years, the goodly acres melted away, he sacrificed pride and personal comforts, everything, indeed, but honor, in the settled determination to see them equipped for their several races.

It must not be supposed that he was naturally an inferior or that he was without capacity. On the contrary, he was a fair writer and a speaker of power.

In his youth and middle age the parties representing the chief political divisions of the country were Democratic and Federal. In 1840 they were Whig and Democrat. Following Jefferson and Jackson, John Scott Harrison became a Democrat, and remained of that party.

Recognizing his merit and capacity, his political friends succeeded in drawing him from retirement long enough to represent his district twice in Congress; and it is said that he could have been returned to the seat indefinitely. But the cares and harassments of business and his innate preference for home smothered the last spark of ambition in his breast.

Contemporary members of Congress remember him as active in the discharge of official duties. Constant at committee meetings, they say he was ready in speech and always commanded a hearing on the floor.

In August, 1861, the Democratic State Convention held at Columbus nominated John Scott Harrison for lieutenant-governor, with Hugh J. Jewett for first place on the ticket. Dr. Johnson, then secretary of the central committee of the party, formally notified him of his nomination. In a letter described as smoothly written in a flowing hand, and without an erasure or omission, Mr. Harrison declined the honor. The year 1861 is forever sadly memorable as that of the outbreak of the great rebellion. It may be of interest to the reader to know the position occupied by the father of the present candidate for the Presidency in that day of uncertainty and general political rupture. The following is the gentleman's letter of declination:

POINT FARM, O., Aug. 13, 1861.

WM. A. JOHNSON, ESQ.:

Dear Sir: The extreme illness of a member of my family has for several weeks so entirely engrossed my attention as to leave me but little time for other engagements, and will account for this tardy acknowledgment of your favor of 8th instant.

I had noticed in the city papers the proceedings of the Democratic Union Convention lately assembled at Columbus, and was not a little surprised to find that my name had been used in connection with the lieutenant-governorship of the State. I deeply regretted that I had not been consulted in the matter, and now desire to say that I respectfully decline the nomination.

I have no inclination to be a candidate for any office. If I ever cherished ambition for such distinction I have been cured of it, and feel entirely reconciled to the quiet and retirement of private life. But it is perhaps due to myself to say that if this were not the case, and I felt entirely free to enter again the field of political conflict, I could not consent to be a party candidate for office in the present condition of the country. Party spirit, in my opinion, has done more than anything else to bring about the late calamities which now so seriously afflict us, and the poison which has induced this national paralysis would not prove an efficient remedy in the restoration of the patient. The time has come when we should forget party, throw off its trammels and obligations and stand up for the country, its union, Constitution and laws.

I was not, as you know, a supporter of Mr. Lincoln for the presidency, neither do I approve of all the acts of his administration. But it seems to me that this is not the proper time to arraign the administration for these errors of policy, and that it is neither the part of wisdom nor patriotism to assail the government when the enemy is thundering at the gates of the capital. Let us first settle the great question of country or no country, government or no government, Union or disunion; and having accomplished this great work of duty and patriotism, we will have ample time to inquire into the alleged delin-

quencies of our rulers, and if we find them wanting in the Jeffersonian requirements for office, let them be condemned by a verdict of the people.

I certainly owe the Republicans, as a party, no debt of political obligation, and yet I do not hesitate to say that the administration has my warmest sympathy in its effort to put down this rebellion, and I am in favor of doing this effectually and permanently—in peace if we can, in war if we must. A distinguished member of Congress is reported to have said, in his place in the House of Representatives during last session, that he was for peace —peace before the Union. I, too, am for peace, but I am for the Union before peace, for I know without union we can have no peace.

In repeating my determination to decline the nomination, which, as the organ of the convention, you so kindly tendered me, I beg to assure you of my proper appreciation of this mark of respect and confidence on the part of the convention.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

J. SCOTT HARRISON.

He died in the spring of 1878, loved by his neighbors and respected, despite his financial misfortunes, by all who knew him. Benjamin Harrison, of whom we are writing, was his second son, Irwin being the first.

CHAPTER II.

CHILD, BOY AND STUDENT.

In 1787 the Continental Congress, sitting in New York, adopted "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio." This was speedily followed by sales of public lands, notably one of five millions of acres, bordering the Ohio river from the Muskingum to the Scioto, to citizens of New England organized as "The Ohio Company," and another of two millions of acres in the region between the Great and Little Miami rivers, including the site of Cincinnati.

The purchaser of the latter tract was John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, concerning whom there are some particulars of interest.

He was a son of Rev. Timothy Symmes, of Scituate, Mass., a graduate of Howard College. At one time he was a delegate to the Provincial Congress and was active in framing the constitution of his State in 1776. A year later he became justice of the Supreme Court. Still retaining his position as such justice, in 1784 and 1785 he was a delegate to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Following that he was appointed

judge of the Northwestern Territory and moved to Ohio. He had for companions in his emigration Jonathan Dayton, Elias Boudinot, Dr. Clarkson and others of New Jersey.

The tract constituting what is known as "Symmes' Purchase" comprised the present cities of Cincinnati and Dayton. It embraced Hamilton, Butler, Preble and Montgomery counties, and possibly Warren. Along the Ohio river it extended from the Little Miami, about twenty miles above Cincinnati, to the Big Miami, about the same distance below that city. All the titles for fractions of the tract proceeded from him.

Judge Symmes established his residence at North Bend, and there laid out a city, intending to make it the great commercial emporium of the West. Unfortunately for his idea, Cincinnati became a military post, the protection of which was anxiously sought by settlers. Symmes' city sank into comparative insignificance. Two of the three hewn log-houses which the Judge erected as the nucleus of his emporium were destroyed by fire. The incendiary is reported to have been a political enemy.

The ruins of the stone chimneys of the cabins are yet discernible. To-day North Bend is chiefly known as having been the residence of President William Henry Harrison.

Judge Symmes had for his first wife Anna Tuthill, of Southold, Long Island. From the mar-

RIVER VIEW AT "SYMMES' PURCHASE."

riage there were two daughters, Maria and Anna, of whom the former wedded Peyton Short, of Kentucky, and the latter William Henry Harrison. The wooing and winning of the younger sister is not without romantic coloring.

When Fort Washington was established at Cincinnati Harrison was stationed there. Duty called the gallant captain to North Bend, and he became a guest at the Symmes residence. It was not long until he succumbed to the black eyes of Miss Anna. She was at the time twenty years of age, small, graceful, intelligent and by general agreement beautiful. He was twenty-two years of age, with a reputation well established as a gallant soldier. The two were mutually pleased with each other, and an engagement followed, which could hardly fail to be satisfactory to the father. The Judge, in fact, consented to the marriage; but, hearing some slanderous reports of the captain, he afterwards withdrew his consent. The lovers were in nowise daunted. They resolved to proceed with their engagement. November 29, 1795, the day appointed for the wedding, arrived. Judge Symmes, thinking the affair off or declining to be present, rode to Cincinnati, leaving the coast clear.

In the presence of the young lady's stepmother and many guests the ceremony was performed by Dr. Stephen Wood, a justice of the peace.

Undoubtedly the father of the bride was a person of great importance at that time. He was a high dignitary of the United States government and proprietor of a tract of land ducal in proportions. The lady was beautiful, young, charming, of Eastern education and manners. The bridegroom on his side had fought his way to a captaincy, which was a much more influential argument in that day than this, especially in social circles. With these points in mind, it would not be strange if a reader, giving rein to his fancy, should picture the wedding as of exceeding splendor of circumstance. It was the very reverse. To arrive at the facts the time and the conditions of the people of the region must be considered. The West was in its densest wildness. There were no luxuries. To be comfortable was to be rich. There was no aristocracy. Store goods were scarce and at prices out of reach. Weeks of travel were required to get to and from the mills. For summer wear the settlers depended in great part upon the fibre of thistle, a certain species of which, growing spontaneously in the woods, fell down and rotted in the winter, and was gathered in the spring and cleaned and woven by the women. Indeed, the probabilities are that the company assembled to witness the marriage of Captain Harrison and Miss Anna Symmes would astonish polite circles of to-day. They arrived on horseback, each man carrying a rifle, a powder-horn and a pouch lined

with patching and bullets. Travelling by narrow paths cut through thickets of blackberry and alder bushes and undergrowth of every variety, every step taken might be into an ambush of Indians. They moved in the mood and ready for instant combat. A wife, coming with her husband, rode behind him. When they dismounted at the door, as it was winter, ten to one he wore buckskin for coat and breeches, and a coonskin cap, while she was gay with plaided linsey-woolsey of her own weaving, cutting and sewing. Her head was protected from the wind by a cotton handkerchief. Coarse shoes supplied the place of slippers. The wedding cake was of New England doughnuts. On the sideboard there were jugs of cider, very hard at that, and whiskey none the worse of its home brewing, and they were there to be drank. The dancing, with which the fete was most likely rounded off in the evening, was to a fiddle in the hand of a colored artist who knew the plantation jigs as a mocking bird knows his whistle. The pigeon-wing with which the best dancer celebrated the "balance all" was cut with feet yellow with moccasins. Such was in probability the general ensemble of the wedding.

The bride may have had an outfit of better material. So recently from the East, she may have had a veil, a silk frock and French slippers. The bridegroom, of course, wore his captain's

uniform, glittering with bullet-buttons of burnished brass, and high boots becoming an aide in favor with his chief, the redoubtable Anthony Wayne, whom the Indians were accustomed to describe as "the warrior who never slept." Taken altogether, the wedding celebrated at Judge Symmes' house that November day, 1795, cannot be cited in proof of a charge of aristocratic pretension on the part of the high contracting parties.

Some time afterwards Judge Symmes met his son-in-law. The occasion was a dinner-party given by General Wilkinson to General Wayne.

"Well, sir," the judge said, in bad humor, "I understand you have married Anna."

"Yes, sir," Harrison answered.

"How do you expect to support her?"

"By my sword and my own right arm," was the reply.

The judge was pleased, became reconciled, and in true romantic form happily concluded the affair by giving the couple his blessing.

The young husband carried his wife to Cincinnati without delay, and they remained there in quarters until the reconciliation with the father took place; after which, it is reasonable to suppose, they were frequent visitors at North Bend.

The demands for the captain's professional services were frequent and pressing. He had not long to enjoy his new situation and its delights, but betook himself speedily to the wars.

Previous to his departure, however, he built a house to shelter his fair partner. Part of it is yet standing in close proximity to the site of Fort Washington. The interior is of black walnut. Building material must have been scarce when the structure was begun, as the nails were of iron wrought doubtless on the forge of the post blacksmiths. There John Scott Harrison, the third son of the Father of the Northwest, was born.

Eventually, however, General William Henry Harrison took residence at North Bend. The old homestead, the same that in later years became an object of visitation by armies of pilgrims, is said to have been built by him in 1814 or thereabouts. Whatever the date may be, it is certain that North Bend was the scene of the passage of a great part of Mrs. Harrison's life —a good woman, admired in her youth and lovely and beloved to her latest day. There a family was reared unto her, and of that family we will now speak.

In time the home circle came to consist of William Symmes, Benjamin and John Scott Harrison; Anna, who married Colonel Taylor; Betsey, who married Mr. Short; Maria, who married Mr. Thornton; Lucy, who married Mr. Estey, and Mary and Carter, nine in all.

We have seen the occupations which engaged the attention of the father through many years.

They were mixed, civil and military, all heavy with responsibility and demanding exclusive attention. If they were honorable, they were also vexatious, and of a nature requiring absence from home, much of the time in the saddle on distant expeditions. No doubt he would have been more happy could he have fixed his headquarters at North Bend, but we hear of him at Vincennes and here and there, now on the shores of the lakes, but most frequently in a tent pitched in the woods, the centre of constant coming and going of subordinate officials. Subjects of the gravest character demanded his best thought; pertinent sometimes to affairs of government, the founding of settlements, plans of campaign, and the settlement of disputes brought to him on final appeal. To him fell the duty of the original subdivision of Indiana into townships and counties and the protection of the adventurous settlers from the ever-watchful and merciless Indian.

It is not saying too much that the care of the growing family devolved almost entirely, throughout their infancy, upon the mother. And later she was required to attend to their education, the means for which were, in that day, sadly wanting. Yet the highest evidence of her efficiency as a helpmeet is to be found in the fact that the children all became respectable men and women and to the latest day held her in the highest veneration.

IDEAL TIPPECANOE LOG CABIN.

It is the general opinion that William Henry Harrison was rich, but the opinion is not founded in fact. With great care for his personal honor he seems, throughout his life, to have scrupulously avoided speculation. The salaries he received were not commensurable with the dignities he came to. The demands upon him from his family and his associations generally made it impossible for him to accumulate money. At the time of his election to the Presidency he was poor; his entire property consisted of the farm at North Bend. When out of office he was occupied exclusively as a farmer, and must be thought of, not as a gentleman addicted to broadcloth clothes of the latest style, nor as a martial figure going about uniformed and sworded and in a cocked hat. In that respect his habits were unlike Washington's. The plantation at North Bend had not in any degree the baronial likeness of the plantation at Mount Vernon on the banks of the Potomac. The western proprietor had not a retinue of slaves subject to his call. He never travelled to and from the city in state, a liveried rider upon the near horse and a footman perched upon the carriage of state. He was a farmer in fact who took part in his own plowing, planting and reaping; altogether the most unaristocratic of men, his children were reared accordingly.

The third son was John Scott Harrison, in whom the greater interest now centres because

he was the father of Benjamin Harrison, our immediate subject of biography. John Scott Harrison, upon coming of age, settled down a farmer like his father, by whom he had set apart to him a portion of the North Bend property. His house, as has been observed, was a plain structure, similar to those dotting the imperfect farms of the day. The farm itself had to be created, and was situated just five miles below North Bend on the Ohio river at its intersection with the Big Miami. Its western boundary was the Indiana and Ohio line. He was twice married. He had by his first wife three children, two daughters, Betsey and Sarah, who are still living, the former as the widow of Dr. Eaton, now resident on a part of the old homestead at North Bend, the latter Mrs. Devin, also of Ohio. His second wife was a Miss Elizabeth Irwin, daughter of Archibald Irwin, of Mercersburg, Franklin county, Pennsylvania. By her he had Archibald Irwin; Benjamin; Jennie, who married Mr. Morris; Carter Bassett, who is still living, and has the distinction of having been during the late war a Captain in the Fifty-first Ohio (Stanley Matthews') regiment. He also served a good part of the time on the division staff of Gen. Vancleave. At present he resides in Murfreesboro, Tenn., having married in the South. Besides those named, John Scott Harrison had two other children: John Scott, living in Kansas City, Mo., and Anna, at present of Indianapolis, married to Mr. Morris.

The reader may arrive at the manner of bringing up this family had by observing the particulars of the childhood and youth of Benjamin Harrison, the second of the sons.

Continuing the sketch of John Scott Harrison, it may be remarked that he lived and died upon his farm, having been an agriculturalist all his life. In his earlier days he took care of his own little plantation and aided his father in the general management of the homestead. He varied the occupation by boating to New Orleans, whither he went almost every year with a cargo of produce of his own raising. Having become involved in debt, largely through ill-advised endorsements, he left no property. Years prior to his death his farm passed from him into the ownership of the heirs of Judge Short, who has been mentioned as the husband of Betsey Harrison. Through their kindness, and out of great respect, he was permitted to continue in its occupancy. He left no estate whatever.

It will perhaps please the reader to be assured that from this point forward he will be given nothing that is not directly concerned with the gentleman to whom the volume is in title and fact devoted.

Benjamin Harrison, the second son of John Scott Harrison, was born at North Bend in his grandfather's house on the 20th day of August, 1833—nearly fifty-five years ago.

There is nothing more surprising in the lives of Americans than the similarity of their childhood and youth. Their sports are the same; they go through the same trains of petty adventure; at length a period arrives at which they are sent to school; there a new-comer very nearly takes up a book left behind by a predecessor, is subjected to the same recitation, and whirled with astonishing rapidity along a course of study which, after all, is little more than a deeply worn rut. This may perhaps be a necessity; it certainly is monotonous. There are even teachers of experience and excellent judgment who have been heard to express a wish that they might live to see the results of experiments in education out of the common. There is no hack so worn and weary as a master or mistress of a public school, unless it be a college professor. That a lad ever rises above the dead level is attributable purely to a superiority of intellect. In the light of this remark and its context, together with his admitted success in life, it is worth while to make a study of the youth and school-days of the Republican candidate for the Presidency.

Extending southward from the old Harrison homestead at North Bend there is a tongue of land, quite five miles in length; its lower extremity touches the Indiana boundary line; the north side is swept by the Miami river; upon the south side the Ohio rolls its placid stream.

On this promontory, or backbone, as some might be pleased to call it, is what was the farm of John Scott Harrison. It answered to cultivation generously; corn grew there in abundance. The wheat was good. It furnished the family all the staples of life. Seldom, if ever, had they to go out to market. From it the cellar was well supplied. The cattle and horses that ranged it were always fat and sleek. The proprietor was, in fact, a good farmer. He might have been nothing else out of the ordinary, but that he was in fair degree. He gave himself to the occupation patiently and successfully, at least so far as the blessing of plenty to eat and wear is concerned. The poverty that overtook him in his later days was a consequence of his generosity and a judgment too easily cheated by people who wormed their way into his confidence. He put on no style. If his disposition had tended that way, he had not the means to indulge it. One thing he was determined upon: whatever else happened, he would educate his children. His residence fronted the Ohio river: between the river and the door was a small, plain, old-fashioned log-school-house. On account of the distance to any other schools, it was impossible that his boys could attend them. Very early in the life of Benjamin he was in the habit of employing private teachers. Their salaries were light, as they were called upon only to impart the simplest elementary instruction. His

nephews very often were accommodated in his house and placed under instruction together with his own children. Boys of his nearest neighbors were also attendants there. The teachers were sometimes men, sometimes women; and they were not employed all the year round, but generally in the winter.

The cabin was, as is usual with such buildings, of the very plainest. The floor was of puncheon, the windows few and small. In one end was a great fire-place, habitually filled with logs in the morning to burn all day. The benches were slabs raised above the floor by sticks fitted in through auger holes. They were without backs, and the little fellows, through the hours of session, dropped their legs without touching the floor with their feet. Altogether it was weary employment for them. But, as their studies were spelling, reading and writing, they were not put to much mental effort. At recess they ran wild, and made up for lost time at play. In that humble structure Benjamin began his education.

In seasons when the crops were being planted and harvested he was, as a farmer's boy, given to employment suitable to his years. He fed the cattle; he did the milking, though he has since confessed that at this latter labor he was never a success. There his isolation from the world was complete. Visitors from the city came in flocks, always stopping at the old mansion above. Sel-

dom, if ever, did they extend their journey to the farm on the peninsula. His own visitations to his grandmother's were frequent, for he was always a favorite with the old lady. She made much of him, and many times, upon his setting out homeward on the horse or the wagon, she came to the gate and in giving him a parting kiss slipped a piece of money in his hand, of which he was duly proud. In later years, when he came to understand that she herself was not over-blessed with riches, he appreciated the mark of affection all the more. At such times he had opportunities to see strangers. In most instances they were objects of wonder to him.

Of Sundays, with his father and mother and all the family, he attended church at North Bend. As it had been a custom of the first General Harrison when at home to make tender of hospitality to the congregation, after his death the custom was perpetuated by the widow. The board at which the guests found themselves upon such occasions was broad and profusely covered. Not seldom there were plates for fifty or more. If there were not three kinds of meat for the company, the aged hostess was unhappy. It is to be remarked, however, that everything constituting the *menu* was produced on the farm.

It should not be supposed that the attendance at school and work upon the farm were unmixed with pastime. The rivers flowing close by were

well stocked in that day with fish. There were squirrels in the woods; in their season ducks were plenteous; and in the pursuit of such game young Harrison became an expert shot, particularly with the rifle. Very frequently he assisted the negro who served the household in the capacity of cook, carried wood and water for him, and helped him wash the dishes, that he might the better secure his company in a bout at fishing or hunting.

By-and-by the little old cabin described as a school-house gave out, and study was transferred to a room in the father's house. Amongst the teachers at whose feet he sought instruction he remembers one Thomas Flynn, who initiated him into the mysteries of A, B, C. He cannot recall a thrashing, a circumstance somewhat singular, as in that day the rod was deemed necessary to successful education. Probably he might have met other treatment, if he had attended a public school. In learning to read, write and cipher his school periods were occupied down to 1847. He then began Latin and a course preparatory to an academy. Shortly afterwards, with his elder brother, Irwin, he was sent to a school back a few miles from Cincinnati, on what was called College Hill.

The institution had recently taken on a more pretentious character. A new building had been put up; and whereas it had flourished under the

name of Carey's Academy, it now introduced itself to knowledge-seekers in the West as Farmer's College. The proprietor and principal was Freeman Carey, brother of Mr. Samuel Carey, the temperance lecturer. The instructors, some of them, were of great reputation—among them Dr. Robert H. Bishop, who had at one time been President of Miami University and before that a professor in Transylvania College, Kentucky. He was a highly educated, learned and venerable Scotsman.

Young Harrison was a student at Farmer's College two years. He applied himself to Latin, Greek, mathematics, mental philosophy, and the usual academical course in its entirety. He lived plainly, rooming in one of the dormitories of the building. While closely applying himself to study, always standing fair in his classes, respected by the instructors and popular with his associates, prompt at recitation and obedient to rules, nevertheless he found time for amusement and sport, such as snow-balling, town-ball, bull-pen, shinny and baste, all more familiar to lads in that day than this. There was a hill in the vicinity to which he was faithful in sledding time. He was of slight physique, slender and not tall, even girlish in appearance, but made up the deficiencies, if such they may be called, by spirit, wit, and ready knowledge of character, which enabled him to take his own part, and hold rank in the estimation of his playmates.

At the end of the two years at Farmer's College he was transferred to Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, for which he was admirably prepared.

It is the custom with those who are in the habit of tracing the distinction a man acquires in after life to dwell upon what he may have read in his youth. Some have carried their opinions in that matter so far as to affirm that books favorite in the beginning give bent to the tastes and even decide the calling that may be chosen. They fancy that poets in that way discover themselves. Lawyers, divines, politicians, and scientists are referable to the same influences. Hence, it has been for a long time the fashion of biographers to furnish lists of the books which were delightful to the boy.

Allowing the inquiry, we find in his very early years young Harrison was admitted to a limited library. His father does not appear to have been a great reader himself. Severely occupied by attention to his farm, John Scott Harrison was perhaps more careless and indifferent in this respect than he imagined. Amongst the books, however, at call of the children, there was notably an edition of Scott's novels. The son Benjamin can scarcely remember the time that he was not enthralled by Waverley, the Scottish tales, and the eastern romances. He pored over them diligently. Ivanhoe and the Talisman were sources

of infinite fascination to him. In them his imagination found the greatest satisfaction. And unconsciously he laid away a store of English and Scotch history from Kenilworth and other tales of that class infinitely serviceable in his succeeding years. He has since drank deeply from Dickens, Thackeray and all the modern classicists, but Walter Scott still holds dominion over his tastes. He speaks enthusiastically of him yet, and says he went through his volumes from beginning to end, and over and over again.

In his boyish days an uncle presented him with a Vicar of Wakefield, and about the same time, upon the recommendation of his mother, he devoured Pilgrim's Progress.

In the society library at Farmer's College he found the works of Washington Irving, and they too became his admiration and delight. Occasionally he read Cooper's stories. In the purely historical line, Hume and Gibbon received the greatest attention from him. So that when, at the end of two years in Farmer's College, he was transferred to Miami University, he was so well advanced in study and general information as to at once enter a Junior in the latter institution.

Miami University had been provided for by the General Government by reservation in the grant of land to John Cleves Symmes and his associates. It was consequently one of the earliest, and for a long time decidedly the leading

institution west of the Alleghenies. When young Harrison was received in its walls it had derived not a little fame from presidents such as Dr. McMasters and Dr. Bishop. In the professorial roll are the names of Dr. McGuffy and Dr. John W. Scott, with the latter of whom we shall presently acquaint ourselves as the father of Mrs. Harrison. The executive of the institution when the subject of our biography became one of its students was the Rev. W. C. Anderson, D. D., under whose administration its affairs were in an unusually flourishing condition. Aside from the large patronage received from the Northwest, it found favor in the South, there being many youths on its roster from the slave or Southern States. Miami University was not strictly denominational; nevertheless it had been presided over almost from the beginning by men connected with the Presbyterian Church—sons of Presbyterians of the Old and New School Churches, as they were called, and among them Covenanters or United Presbyterians. In deference to their ideas, the psalms in the morning exercises were always sung out of Rouse's collection.

Young Harrison attached himself immediately upon arrival to the Miami Union Literary Society, and became foremost in the debates which, as usual with such societies, formed part of the ordinary exercises. In that line he early distinguished himself, and conscious of his strength

he preferred speaking to composition. To the latter he indeed failed to give the attention it deserved.

To this day he prefers impromptu oratorical effort to writing, which is still distasteful drudgery to him. A little further on the reader will have opportunity to decide for himself how well founded the preference may be.

Returning a moment to his home-life on the farm, it is pleasant to remark that his mother was a most devout Christian woman of remarkable sweetness of temper, and her spirit pervaded the house. The dining-room, which was the common sitting-room, was large and commodious, with the usual wide open fireplace. In evenings, especially of the winter, the family assembled in it around a central-table. The flames in the fire-place burned brightly, dispensing light in aid of the tallow-dips on the table, beside which were the old-fashioned brazen snuffers ready in the polished tray for instant use. The dips mentioned were not the store article but home-made. In fact young Harrison helped make them, and became an expert in the business.

In front of the fire-place the mother took seat with her knitting; and while listening to the conversation or the reading that went on amongst the younger folks, reeled off her needles the socks with which the boys could encounter the snows without. In their most animated moments

those around were always regardful of her presence; respect for her tempered their voices and forbade passion in dispute. She was a Presbyterian, and one of Benjamin's earliest recollections, that to which at this late day he refers with profoundest reverence of feeling, is the habit she persisted in to her death of rising when the hour of retirement came, folding up her work, whatever it might be, saying "Good-night" and going aside for prayer. The practice was a mystery to him then, as was the prayer she silently made. He did not understand what it meant; and for that reason possibly the impression it made upon him has been more lasting. It certainly was not without influence. For we find that while he was a student in the University he became himself a member of the Presbyterian Church and is now a Presbyterian. He is also a man of prayer.

Young Harrison, in this interval of college toil, must not be thought of as coldly indifferent to attractions outside study. The mind that admits fondness of Walter Scott must also have an element of romance more or less defiant of control. Its possessor, if a student, will give time to dreams wholly irrelevant to the book which is the necessity of the next recitation. There are the visions of the old man, and the visions of the youth; the former have hold upon the past, the latter are all of the future, and that is the difference between them. The surest sign of the approach of man-

hood is the intervention, constantly and oddly, of the question, what am I to be? asked of the pursuit in which the dreamer is to look for bread and the glory in waiting for him. And if he be bright, brave and gentle withal, ten to one it will be found that the inspiration of the question is a face fairer in his thought than any other face.

It happened that in the town overlooked by Miami University there was an academy for young ladies of which Dr. John W. Scott was manager and president. The fair students were a sparkling feature of the society of the village, and young Harrison was not so ascetically devoted to the Union Literary and making good the favoritism shown him as an orator on occasions as to be blind to the sex. Far from that, he was notoriously diligent in seeking partners for concerts, lectures, picnics and parties.

It also happened that President Scott had a daughter, girlish, intelligent, witty, attractive, in whom the young man quickly discovered all the qualities that entered into the composition of his ideal of a perfect woman. Suddenly he gave up attentions to the gentle patrons of the academy in general, and became more a slave to his books than ever. For a season there was much wonder over the change; at length it was explained—he was engaged to marry Miss Caroline W. Scott, the president's daughter. The contract argues great courage and confidence in his future when

it is remembered that he was poor and just out of the junior class, and but eighteen years of age.

It may be well supposed that the engagement referred to, while operating as an incentive to work, had also the effect to lengthen each college day, making him impatient for the end which the collegiate calendar set down for the 24th of June, 1852.

The graduating class that year consisted of sixteen young men, the names of some of whom have since become of national familiarity. To see yet more clearly the competition which young Harrison found in his classes and literary society, the reader may not be displeased if their names are given entire. The following is the list:

John S. Baker, lawyer, Cincinnati, O.
John P. Craighead, lawyer, Little Rock, Ark.
Isaac S. Lane, lawyer, Memphis, Tenn.
Lewis W. Ross, lawyer, Council Bluffs, Ia.*

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*The following is from Mr. Lewis W. Ross, now of Council Bluffs, Iowa:

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Forty years ago the writer met the subject of this paper in Farmer's College, a school of considerable merit, located on one of the hills overlooking the city of Cincinnati. Dr. R. H. Bishop, formerly President of Miami University, was Professor of History and Political Economy. He was an extraordinary teacher. He discipled his students to such an extent as to render it impossible to either forget the man or his instruction. I also met Dr. O. W. Nixon of the *Inter-Ocean*, Murat Halstead of the *Commercial-Gazette*, Joseph M. Gregory, a member of the Memphis Bar, and many others who have attained to positions of honor and trust.

After two years of study at Farmer's College, a large delegation, including young Harrison and the writer, entered Miami University, located at

Milton Sayler, lawyer, Cincinnati, O.
Harmer Denny, minister of the gospel.

Oxford, Ohio. We enrolled in the junior class, with at least half of the sophomore year to make up. This implied that we were required to do two and a half years' work within the space of two years, but it was accomplished, and all graduated—a class of fifteen members, on June 24, 1852.

This class varied in worldly wealth and available brains about as other classes have done. David Swing, of Chicago, took second honors, and Milton Saylor, now of New York city, took the first honors. Harrison, in class standing and merit, ranked above the average. Swing was confessedly the best philologist in the class, and during the last year of the course displayed unusual ability. Saylor was gifted in many ways, but lacked application. He has lived the life of a "typical Democrat," serving two terms in Congress. Harrison, as I remember, was an unpretentious but courageous student. He was respectable in languages and the sciences, and excelled in political economy and history, the former being largely due to the foundations laid under the instruction of Dr. Bishop at Farmer's College. Harrison had a good voice and a pure diction. He talked easily and fluently. His manner was indicative of much earnestness of character. He never seemed to regard life as a joke nor the opportunities for advancement as subjects for sport. During the four years that I was with him, he impressed me with the belief that he was ambitious. As a writer and speaker, he always did his best. By this I mean that he, as a rule, made special preparation, giving as much time as possible to the matter in hand. The subject of his graduating address was "The Poor of England," and his treatment of it showed that he had sounded both the depths and the causes of this poverty. He was a protectionist at the age of nineteen. He is protectionist still. His whole career has been illustrative of his desire to save his countrymen from the poverty which oppresses "The Poor of England."

It is claimed by his enemies that Harrison is cold-hearted, that he cultivates but few friends. This is untrue. When a student he had his likes and dislikes. He was not selfish, yet his love of self made him careful of his time and of his reserve powers. Had he been of the rollicking habit of some of his college acquaintances, he would long since have passed over with them. The sober truth is, that in good sense and manly conduct he was as a student without just reproach. From aught that has come to my notice, in later years, I infer that his entire career has been a living exemplification of the principles which governed his student life.

James A. Hughes, minister of the gospel, Somerville, O.

A. C. Junkin, minister of the gospel, West Greenville, Pa.

S. T. Lowerie, minister of the gospel, Pittsburg, Pa.

David Morrow, minister of the gospel, Logansport, Ind.

William H. Prestly, minister of the gospel, Chillicothe, O.

David Swing, minister of the gospel, Chicago, Ill.

Joseph Walker, minister of the gospel, Muskingum, O.

J. Knox Boude, M. D., Carthage, Ill.

James H. Childs, calling not known, killed at Antietam.

To have become conspicuous in such a class is of itself a high encomium. Young Harrison took fourth honor, which was certainly well done for a boy of but eighteen.

He was just then. He is just now. He was industrious then. He is industrious now. He was ambitious then. He is ambitious still. His was and is a commendable ambition, worthy to be patterned by the youth of the country. When in college he gained mental discipline and a genuine love for history and political science. When in Judge Storer's office he read, with other texts, Coke upon Littleton, and so laid deep and solid legal foundations. Thus furnished, his success was assured before entering upon the duties of his profession. On all moral questions he has been fearless for the right. At his country's call he answered, proving his devotion and courage. Among lawyers of national reputation he ranks with the best. Among statesmen he is accorded a high place. He is worthy of the cordial support of Republicans everywhere for the exalted position to which he aspires.

Speeches were part of the commencement exercises then, as now; and in gratification of the curiosity to know something of the boy's graduating oration, an extract is submitted.

After a compliment of poetic turn to heroic England, the speaker said:

Turn, now, and take a glance at modern England, the England of poor laws and paupers. How fares it with the descendants of those noble sires? Do they still preserve the lofty mien, the virtuous courage, the healthful abundance of their ancestors? Can it be that the obsequious pauper, the sturdy beggar, is indeed come of so proud a parentage? Have the swelling tides engulfed this manly race to give place to Eastern slaves? By what process of degeneration, by what system of treachery, by what catalogue of wrongs has this sad change been effected? How has the individual been robbed of his energy, the social circle of its virtue and purity? The common answer is by poor laws.

In the vastness of her commercial projects, the expansive generosity of her foreign charity and the extended field of her missionary efforts, the starving destitution of eight millions of her own subjects is too much forgotten and overlooked. Reversing the old maxim, she seems to think that charity begins abroad and draws freely upon the public exchequer to relieve the miseries of the West India slave, while thousands more miserable cry in vain for substantial relief from the filthy lanes of her own metropolis. As the newspaper giver of the present day bestows liberally to endow widows' homes and orphan asylums while his faithful house-dog is starving in his kennel, so the oil and wine which the British Samaritan poured into the wounds and bruises of the West Indian slave were the marrow and blood of his own children. . . . .

Perhaps the whole annals of legislative history does not furnish us with a system of laws so fully repudiated

by all sound economy or one which so rudely strikes at the foundation of all social prosperity as the poor laws of Great Britain. Unwise in their conception, unhappy in their consequences, they are the shame and curse of England.

Disregarding the finer and fuller provisions of nature for the relief of the destitute and unfortunate, they substitute instead the compulsory provisions of a legalized benevolence. The charitable offering is snatched from the kind hand of the benevolent giver, cast into the swelling poor fund and distributed by the cold hand of a soulless official alike to the vicious and deserving. The donor is deprived of his meed of praise, the recipient is precluded the exercise of gratitude.

But not only do such provisions fail to relieve the wants of the poor by sapping the life's blood of individual energy and encouraging indolence and consequent vice; they increased the evil they were intended to alleviate and supersede the more efficacious relief of individual charity. The ever present consciousness that, however great his improvidence and vice, he cannot be brought to ultimate want removes that stimulus to industry and economy which has in the wise providence of God been provided to anticipate the evils of pauperism. The shame which attaches itself to the trembling prayer for individual charities is lost in the demand upon the parish poor fund. . . . . Can it be possible that this is indeed the true character of those laws which her wisest statesmen have not only sustained but made the subject of boastful reflection upon other lands? As well might the highway robber, after having stripped the defenseless traveller of all that he possessed, return him a scanty covering from the cold, and then boast of kindness, and call upon his shivering victim to acknowledge a debt of gratitude.

> "Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey
> When wealth accumulates and men decay;
> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
> A breath can make them and a breath has made,
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed can never be supplied."

The extract is honorable to the speaker. Appreciation of the sorrows of the poor is seldom more fervidly expressed. A critic will forgive the redundancy of adjectives, remembering that it is a disease of young students soon cured. He will not fail also to be struck with the direction of the argument, while there can be no doubt of the side taken. Those familiar with him know Benjamin Harrison, now mature in years, is still bravely on the same side.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAWYER.

Love of one's *alma mater* is not an impulse of graduation. Upon the going forth the young man is all confidence; the world is the reverse of awful to him; it is a field of which he has simply to take possession; or it is the sleeping beauty of Trier-main, and he the hero assigned to awake her; the lions, goblins, and thunders along the way are only accessories to make the achievement more remarkable. The popularity of the first picture in the series of Cole's "Voyage of Life," a radiant youth in a shallop flying against a rippled current toward the luminous temple in the sky, is due less to excellence of art than to the truth of the portrayal. Years after exit from the narrow walls of the college, when the slips and disappointments in the career so eagerly challenged have been endured, then it is that the man becomes conscious that his student days were days of exceeding pleasantness.

Benjamin Harrison at the moment of issuance from the university may have felt himself a man in reality he was but a boy. Nevertheless he did

not lose an hour in idle farewells to places of his college trials and triumphs. From labor he went to labor, with two incentives to make him manful —poverty and a trustful *fiance*.

Exactly when he had determined to be a lawyer cannot be stated. He himself cannot fix the time. The probabilities are that it was when he was passing through the preparatory studies at Farmer's College.

Inclination to a pursuit is referable to tastes. The votary feels the stir of capacity long before he enters upon the profession. The artist manifests it in a facility to draw; the soldier discovers it in love of parades and the incidents of the camp; the mechanic and the poet are often born such. It may perhaps be said that multitudes of young men in our country drift toward the law not from any manifest aptitude for it, but because it has been, if it is not now, the directest path to political prizes. This remark cannot be applied to young Harrison. His mental qualities, the gift of nature, are all those of the lawyer as contradistinguished from the politician. Thus drawn to it by innate aptitude, he was further controlled in the choice by one great necessity of his situation.

The farm upon which he was raised had at one time been a considerable possession. Originally there were five hundred acres of it; but his father had been careless in management. His habits of life were in a degree inherited. He was

liberal and generous to a fault. He delighted in the entertainment of strangers as well as of friends. He was never deaf to appeals for assistance. Did a neighbor need an indorser, he addressed himself to John Scott Harrison, and was never refused. When the paper fell due and the principal was not ready to meet it, an extension became necessary, the burthen of which too frequently fell upon the surety. If further security was required, a mortgage was executed upon the home farm. After a while came judgments and foreclosures. To save the estate John Scott himself became a borrower. So, in the course of years, his affairs went from bad to worse, and finally, as has been stated, he was stripped of everything. Through the kindness of relatives, he retained possession of the premises. The family, however, were in a certain sense dependents.

Such was the condition of the father when young Benjamin passed from Farmer's College into Miami University. Such was his condition when, two years afterwards, at the age of eighteen, the son issued from the university. So, when the latter resolved to adopt the law as his profession, the probabilities are that he was mainly moved by the prospect of finding it the shortest avenue to livelihood. Ambition might have had something to do with the choice, but it was a lesser influence.

One of the notable firms of Cincinnati was that of Stover and Gwynne. Few lawyers have been more honored in Western legal circles than Bellamy Stover. His name is yet a synonyme for honor, ability and genuine patriotism. There was no end to his kindness. His life was a succession of good deeds. As a judge, the ermine he wore on the bench was even whiter when put off than when he put it on. Socially he was the pattern of a gentleman. As an instructor he retained through life the most affectionate regard of his pupils. Abram Gwynne ably seconded him. Young Harrison was received into their office as a regular student. While thus engaged, he lived at the house of his sister, Mrs. Eaton, whose husband was a physician in active practice.

Before he had quite finished his legal course, listening to a voice in his heart, he made a pilgrimage to Oxford, and on the 20th of October, 1853, was married; after which, with his wife, he returned to his father's place below Cincinnati, where he continued his studies, going up frequently to the office for examination.

It was but natural that in the time he was thus occupied he should be on the lookout for a location. We have seen that his father's farm touched the boundary line of Indiana, which became as familiar to him as his native State. The names of its politicians, lawyers and judges were perfectly within his knowledge—as perfectly, in fact,

as if they were personal acquaintances. He knew the history of the State from its beginning; its territorial history was the history of his grandfather, so that it is impossible that he should not have been interested in it, and equally impossible that it should have been without attraction to him. With excellent judgment he finally resolved to establish himself in Indianapolis. And thither he betook himself in March, 1854.

His marriage was an evidence of self-reliance and confidence in the goodness of Providence. Further evidence illustrative of those qualities may be found in a presentation of his worldly goods at that time.

As we have seen, his father was not in condition to assist him pecuniarily. The good man had strained his remaining resources in educating him and his brother. A fortunate circumstance now intervened. James Finley, a soldier of the war of 1812, had married an aunt of young Harrison, leaving her a widow. From her he had inherited a lot in Cincinnati, which he turned to present account. A purchaser was found willing to advance $800 on the property; on account of the minority of young Harrison, the transaction was perfected by a bond for a deed upon his arrival at majority. That sum constituted the entire fortune with which he settled down in Indianapolis. A more unaristocratic beginning of life can scarcely be conceived. He was not able

to buy him a house or rent a separate office. He had but one acquaintance in the city, Mr. John H. Rea, who was Clerk of the United States District Court, and as such was domiciled in the State Bank building situated in the triangular corner opposite the Bates House. Mr. Rea kindly offered him a desk, and shortly a "shingle" was nailed at the side of the door, notifying the world that Benjamin Harrison, attorney-at-law, might be found within.

Shortness of means and lack of acquaintanceship were not the only disadvantages with which the young aspirant for legal honors had to contend. The writer became acquainted with him by introduction from Mr. Rea, and well remembers his personal appearance. He was small in stature, of slender physique, and what might be called a blonde. His eyes were gray, tinged with blue, his hair light, reminding one of what in ancient days along the Wabash was more truly than poetically described as "a tow-head." He was plainly dressed, and, in that respect, gave tokens of indifference to the canons of fashion. He was modest in manner, even diffident; but he had a pleasant voice and look, and did not lack for words to express himself. At first one wondered that a young man apparently so lacking in assertion should presume to entrust himself so far from home.

The wonder was heightened when it became

known that the fledgling was a grandson of President William Henry Harrison. He grew, however, with more intimate acquaintanceship; and, by-and-by, men, speaking of him in the vernacular, prophesied that he would develop into a "swinge cat."

Unable, as we have seen, to take a house and furnish it, he secured boarding for himself and Mrs. Harrison in the Roll house, below the bank building at the corner of Maryland street; and while waiting for business, he set about mastering the Indiana statutes and the code of practice, then of recent adoption. Business was slow in coming, but his patience and confidence were equal to the occasion.

About this time, through the kindness of United States Marshal John L. Robinson and his deputy, George McOuat, the young man was appointed crier of the Federal Court, the salary of which in term time was two dollars and a half a day. He speaks of the money received for his services as court crier as the first he ever made.

The great event, probably the greatest, in the life of every lawyer, is his first trial. A thousand employments may come subsequently of higher importance and vastly richer compensation, but that one will never be forgotten. The old practitioner may be carried by retainers from the County Court to the Supreme Court of the State, and for that matter to the Supreme Court of the

United States; he may have achieved a national reputation, yet, if one will ask him of his life, he will not fail to go back to his first suit and give you faithfully and in the minutest details all its particulars.

The Indianapolis bar at the time young Harrison sought admission to it was composed of gentlemen of unusual ability and reputation. The mere mention of their names is sufficient to justify the statement. Oliver H. Smith, Lucien Barbour, Calvin Fletcher, Ovid Butler, Simon Yandes (of the firm of Fletcher, Butler & Yandes), William Quarles, Hiram Brown, Hugh O'Neal, ex-Governor David Wallace, John L. Ketcham, James Morrison, David McDonald, were seniors in the practice. There were others rising into notoriety who might be mentioned: John Coburn, Napoleon B. Taylor, Albert G. Porter, William Wallace, all of secured renown now, were of the second class. The first named, however, were in the full tide of practice and of ability to make an impression in any court of the Union. In that day speaking ability was especially required; the tyro who was without it was thought to be a hopeless case in advance. The mere office lawyer was a subject of pity, if not contempt. If in the family there was a boy who had what was called the "gift of gab," his parents and friends foreordained him to the law. Opinion in that respect has undergone a somewhat radical change; but without dwelling upon it every one

familiar with the gentlemen named would see at a glance the difficulties before young Harrison. He would have to prove not merely his knowledge generally but his ability to cope before a jury with any one or all of the formidable array given. Amongst others, Jonathan W. Gordon, in the fall of 1854, was regarded with great popular favor. Of unquestioned ability, an enthusiast but eccentric, he was serving the people as prosecuting attorney; and, having made the acquaintance of Harrison, he formed a high opinion of him and led him to his first appearance.

There was on the docket an indictment against an individual for burglary. The case came up for hearing in the afternoon, and by chance Horace Mann was announced for a lecture in the evening. Major Gordon was anxious to hear that distinguished person; and, fearful that the trial would be continued into the night, to accommodate himself he requested his new friend to assist him. The invitation was accepted. Judge Majors was presiding. The defence was conducted by Governor Wallace and Sims Colley. As anticipated the evidence was heard, and Major Gordon for the State and Mr. Colley for the defendant finished their speeches in the afternoon; whereupon an adjournment was had.

The interior of the old court-house was dingy, gloomy and forbidding in the daytime; at night it was funereal. When young Harrison came in

to make the concluding argument he found a large assemblage waiting to hear the debût. On the fixed desk before the judge there were two tallow candles lighted. The clerk in his place below the judge protected by a stout railing sat with his book opened, in a light similarly derived. On the pillars in the centre of the room, and here and there upon the walls, were old-fashioned tin sconces, casting a glow red and murky with smoke, partly of cigars, partly from a leaking stove. At the judge's left sat the sheriff, and at his left again the panel. At the feet of each juror was the inevitable spittoon, and in pauses the plug of tobacco was passed from man to man. In crises of the evidence and the speeches the expectoration was incessant; sometimes the amber fluid missed the targets at which it was projected. Altogether the scene was not such as to impart inspiration to the debutant upon his entry. On the other hand, the wonder grew when he rose to begin, so boyish-looking was he.

He had taken full notes of the evidence, and, like all beginners, fearful of mistakes in statement, was resolved to read from them copiously. A table had been drawn between him and the jury, and when he began, to his consternation, he discovered the light was wholly insufficient. The sheriff had provided but one candle! What should he do?

There was dead silence throughout the dusky

room. His voice, sharp, clear, penetrating, was being heard to the farthest corner. The audience was already in sympathy with him. The situation was embarrassing. He referred to his notes. He wished to be absolutely correct. He shifted the candle. He turned the paper to every angle. It would not do. The pencilling refused to come out. Then, in desperation, he flung the notes away. To his own amazement he found his memory perfect. Best of all he found he could think and speak upon his feet flash-like and coherently. There were not only words at command, but the right words, enabling him to express himself exactly. He found too the pleasure there always is in the faculty of speech with freedom superadded. Confidence came with the discoveries. From that day to this, whether addressing himself to court or jury, or the vaster audiences who furnish the delight of oratory on the platform or stump, he has been an impromptu speaker.

At the conclusion of this maiden effort he was congratulated by everybody.

Under the code of that day the defence had the closing speech, and as the duty devolved upon Gov. Wallace, he was profuse in complimentary references, and dwelt with feeling upon the kindness of the young man's grandfather to him when he was a lad.

The audience dispersed to exploit "that little fellow, Harrison." "What a swinge-cat he is!

Who would have thought it? He is only a boy yet!" they said to each other.

The jury, after retirement sufficient to take the usual votes, returned a verdict of guilty—and Harrison's first trial was a triumph and more. It brought him honorable notoriety and quick induction into business.

Shortly afterwards he was furnished another opportunity, but of a different character. By appointment of Gov. Joseph A. Wright he conducted a legislative investigation of great public interest, and acquitted himself most happily.

He had in the meantime changed his boarding-house from Roll's to a Mrs. Jameson's, in the little old frame building nearly opposite the Denison house. Citizens of the early time will recall it as the residence of David V. Cully.

Mrs. Harrison visited Oxford, and on the 12th of August, 1854, Russell, her eldest child, was born. When she returned in the fall it was necessary to give up the room at Mrs. Jameson's and take a house. Accordingly a removal was had to a building on the south side of Vermont street, east of New Jersey. The new residence was very modest, and in strict accordance with the renter's income. It was one story, with three apartments, of which the front was used as a bed-room, the next as kitchen and dining-room. There was also a shed-kitchen attached. Sometimes they had a "help;" as a rule, however, Mrs. Harrison did

the cooking, and was herself the housekeeper. He assisted her all he could. Not unfrequently he sawed the wood she required; his last duty before going to the office at morning and noon was to fill the wood-box and buckets. Abroad and at home he was void of affectation or pretense. He struggled vigorously against getting in debt and succeeded. Referring to that period, he laughs, and says, "They were close times, I tell you. A five dollar bill was an event. There was one good friend through it all—Robert Browning, the druggist. I shall always recollect him with gratitude. He believed in me. When things were particularly tight I could go into his store and borrow $5 from the drawer. A ticket in its place was all that was required. Such friends make life worth living."

While a renter of the little Vermont street house, young Harrison accepted an offer of partnership with Mr. William Wallace. In association with Mr. Theodore Haughey, now president of the Indianapolis National Bank, that gentleman was conducting a real estate business extra his law practice. He himself tells of the partnership:

I formed his (Mr. Harrison's) acquaintance very soon after he came to the city. He was about twenty-one years of age, a white-haired, boyish-looking young man, but very pleasant, and it did not take long to find out his superior intellectual qualities, and his sterling worth. It happened that in the year 1855 I had received the

FIRST HOME OF HARRISON.

nomination for clerk of Marion county on the people's ticket. The canvass required a good deal of time, and I concluded to offer my young friend a partnership. I met him on the street one day, and told him I had some good clients and a fair practice, and that if he would go into the office and take care of them while I was canvassing, we would share profits. I think this was the only partnership agreement we ever had. I was defeated for the office, so we continued the practice of law together until the year 1860 or 1861. It is pleasant to say that through his assistance and ability as a lawyer we retained our clients and got new ones. The truth is, our business was of a quiet kind—some collections, a good deal of probate business, but once in a while a case would come along that tested the mettle of the young partner.

He very soon disclosed his admirable qualities as a lawyer—quick of apprehension, clear, methodical and logical in his analysis and statement of a case. He possessed a natural faculty for getting the exact truth out of a witness, either by a direct or cross-examination. In this respect he has but few equals anywhere in the profession. Always exacting from courts and juries their closest attention and interest in the cause, and when the cause demanded it, illustrating the rarest powers of the genuine orator. He is a hard worker, giving to every case the best of his skill and labor, so that he never went unprepared, trusting to good luck, or the want of skill or negligence of the other side. He was poor. The truth is, it was a struggle for bread and meat with both of us. He had a noble young wife, who cheerfully shared with him the plainest and simplest style of living. He did the work about his home for a long time himself, and thus made his professional income, not large, keep him independent and free from debt.

The new firm of Wallace & Harrison opened office in a front room of Temperance Hall, on Washington street. A glance at their cash-book discloses the character of their business in gen-

eral. It was not large, but good for the time. The charges were for notarial work, writing deeds, advice, cases before justices of the peace, services in probate and collections, besides which appearances in the Circuit Court were fairly frequent with them. The junior member was quite regular in attending sessions at Danville. He had retainers also in Hancock county. Referring to the profits of the concern, he says, laughing heartily: "I think I was very often ahead of Will in the cash."

In 1860 Mr. Wallace was elected clerk of Marion county. The firm of Wallace & Harrison was thereupon terminated, and speedily succeeded by that of Fishback & Harrison. This was in its turn concluded by Harrison's entry into the army in 1862.

The years thus covered were to the subject of our narrative years of undivided attention to the law. The politics of the State were in constant ferment. The questions between the North and South growing out of the insistance upon the part of the latter of a right to carry slavery into the Territories were advancing to a point of bitterness theretofore unknown in the country. The debates over the Missouri Compromise in Congress, the war on the Kansas border, the raid of John Brown, had followed each other in rapid succession. Here and there, in political circles, there were whispers of an appeal to arms, and

representative men talked politics in a mood strangely threatening. It cannot be supposed that Mr. Harrison was blind to what was transpiring. His perceptions were bright, his feelings quick; he was capable of weighing the claims of the disputants; yet he went his way quietly, attending to his profession and struggling to add to the receipts it yielded him. On the 3d of April, 1858, a daughter had been born to him.

In a certain sense every citizen who debates political issues and feels concerned in them is a politician. In that sense Mr. Harrison was a politician. His position and party affinities were not in the least doubtful; he was outspoken with respect to his opinions; he could not keep silence in the midst of the war of words waging around him. Yet, thinking that his first duty was to his wife and children, whom he wished above all things to be comfortable and happy, he eschewed politics until, in 1860, he became a candidate before the Republican Convention for the nomination of Reporter of the Supreme Court. Even then he reconciled the candidacy with his obligation to family by the idea that the office he sought was strictly in the line of his profession.

Upon the assemblage of the Convention he was nominated, and, entering the race with characteristic zeal and energy, he was elected by a majority of 9,688.

Not seldom it is the unexpected that happens

in politics. Mr. Harrison did his share in stumping the State for his party; upon its success he knew his own depended. He prepared himself carefully for the work, and his speeches were well received. His associate in the canvass part of the time was the lamented Miles Fletcher, candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction. With that gentleman he filled appointments in many counties in the north and along the Ohio river. There was one fixed for him at Rockville, in Parke county, which he attended alone.

Interest in the contest, as will be remembered, was centred chiefly in the battle between Colonel Henry S. Lane and Mr. Thomas Hendricks, who were opposing each other for the Governorship. When young Harrison set out for Rockville he had no other thought than of making his speech of general advocacy of the Republican party and its tickets, State and National, without responsibility other than pertained to his own subordinate struggle. In the absence of a railroad, he was driven in a buggy to the old county town. When he arrived there he knew no one except General Steele. It was his first appearance in that community.

Upon alighting at the old tavern he learned for the first time that Mr. Thomas Hendricks had a meeting appointed for the same hour at the court-house.

The Republicans gathered around and told him

that the Democrats were hectoring them with suggestions of a joint debate. The young man met the news at first with modest hesitation. Mr. Hendricks' reputation as a speaker and debater was national, and he had been pitted against Colonel Lane as the fittest Democrat in the State to take care of the canvass. The two were, in fact, the supereminent champions of their respective parties, yet a greater unlikeness in manner and method can scarcely be imagined than existed between them. Mr. Hendricks was adroit, subtle, possessed of a stock of words remarkably diplomatic, and a delivery earnest and persuasive. Colonel Lane, on the other hand, was fiery, gesticulative, sarcastic and anecdotal. A toss of the hand, a look sufficed him to stir a crowd to a white heat of enthusiasm. Both were rich in political information. From lives spent in the courts, both were trained logicians.

This description will suggest the reason of the hesitation shown by young Harrison when his political friends first notified him of the challenge to joint debate with the redoubtable Mr. Hendricks. He shrank from the effect of failure upon the interests of his party.

"That is, of course a very unfair proposal," he said. "Mr. Hendricks is at the head of the Democratic ticket, while I am at the tail of the Republican ticket. He is an experienced public debater, while I am on my first trip."

Finally he said: "Gentlemen, if we can't get along with this without showing the white feather, you just tell them we will consent to a joint meeting." And it was so arranged; that is, as Mr. Hendricks did not want to dignify the affair by making it a joint discussion in form, his friends proposed that, as his appointment was first, he should speak two hours, leaving Harrison to follow.

The people, men and women, jammed the court-house. There was scarcely breathing room in it. John S. Davis, a Democratic magnate of the locality, and Mr. Voorhees, the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash," occupied high seats, dividing honors with Mr. Hendricks. Young Harrison went in unnoticed. No one was so poor as to offer him a chair. He was compelled to content himself with a seat on the edge of a desk, his feet hanging pendulously in the air. The three great lights of the Democracy had no fear of him; to the Republicans he was an unknown quantity.

Mr. Hendricks found it easy going. The time was when the Democracy were trying to persuade men that the early and later rains and the increased population and development of the country were all due to their beneficent influences. The speech was pleasant, plausible and strong. To the unknown, perched upon the sharp edge of the desk in the squeeze of the crowd, the two

hours stretched into four, and the applause smote him like blows. At last Mr. Hendricks finished and took his seat, having first generously requested the people to remain.

Then Harrison's turn came. When he appeared on the stand it was amidst a heavy silence. The men gazed at him blankly. The women pitied him. To regain composure he was slow in arranging his documents. He began at length with a well-worded compliment to Mr. Hendricks. Directly he stated a proposition, and charged that at some previous time the Democrats had conceded it to be true. There was a stir in the house indicative of a sensation, and promptly Mr. Voorhees reared his tall form, claiming every eye, and, with a stately wave of the hand to check any demonstration, denied the truth of the statement. An electric flash is not quicker than the retort.

"Fellow-citizens, the denial to which we have listened induces me to amend my assertion. I now say that every Democrat approved the proposition, except Mr. Voorhees. *He was then a Whig.*"

With the spontaneity that distinguishes an American audience above all others, a yell burst out, and before it ended the boyish-looking individual in the stand know that the house was well stocked with Republicans.

Pleased, confident, smiling, he then took up Mr. Hendricks' points, and answered them one by one,

supporting each statement with the record. As he proceeded the difficulty was to repress the enthusiasm of his friends. At the conclusion Mr. Voorhees announced that he would reply to Mr. Harrison in the evening, and he did, but without avail. The impression left by the young disputant is still ineffaced. The debate has now only to be mentioned in the hearing of a Rockville Republican, and he will laugh, and rub his hands, and break into exclamations. "Such a drubbing as the little fellow did give them! And he was so clean about it! No abuse, no blackguarding! I would walk a hundred miles to see it done over."

The story crept abroad over the State, and the candidate for reporter leaped into notoriety with a bound.

Mr. Harrison took possession of the office, and lost no time in getting to work. Official duties were then added to his current law practice. His days were crowded, and he borrowed hours from the nights. Patiently, and with no word of complaint, he labored for the wife and little ones at home. Ambition he had, but there was never a quickened pulse from it that had not reference to them. The ambition that begins at home is always with a healthful leaven.

One day, the better to secure himself from interruption while making the index to a volume of the reports, he took refuge in a basement-room

of the old First Presbyterian church on the governor's circle. He was so engaged when the news of the firing on Fort Sumter was brought him; after which he could do nothing more with pen or pencil that day. Text, index, syllabus, clients, all for a time lost interest with him. Like his neighbors, like the loyal millions of the North, he could think of nothing but the insulted flag and the dangers to the Union. Next morning his blood was cooler. Sight of the wife and children restored him to himself, and he returned to work. He has since confessed that the zest in it was gone—his heart was with the gathering soldiers. He attended meetings, and did everything he could except speak. That his pride and sense of propriety forbade. How could he ask another man to enlist, and the uniform not upon his own back? "By-and-by may be," he would say to himself, "*they* may let me go." The pronoun was but a name for his family. It will be seen that in fact he did not become a recruiting agent until he himself became a recruit.

Upon entering the army a volume of the reports was in hand, and he appointed John T. Dye and John Caven to finish it. Mr. Dye became by his appointment deputy-reporter. This was in July, 1862.

The question then arose whether Mr. Harrison's acceptance of a military commission did not vacate his commission as reporter of the Supreme

Court. The Democrats of the State accepted the affirmative theory; and in the fall succeeding Mr. Harrison's enlistment in the army they nominated the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, who afterwards became speaker of the House of Representatives, their candidate. He was elected and brought a mandate against the clerk of the Supreme Court to compel the delivery of the records to him. The Supreme Court decided that Mr. Harrison had vacated the reportership, and that Mr. Kerr had been duly elected to it. The latter, accordingly, entered upon the duties of the office, and continued to discharge them until the fall of 1864. The Republican Convention of that year renominated Colonel Harrison, who was then in the field with his regiment engaged in the Atlanta campaign. He was elected by a majority of 19,713, which was no doubt partly due to the sympathy excited by what seemed a wrongful ouster from office, and an indirect punishment by a Democratic Supreme Court for such a practical manifestation of loyalty to the flag. Then, thinking that if the acceptance of a military commission vacated the civil office, a reverse application of the principle could not do more in the new situation than vacate his Colonelcy—a question to be heard at Atlanta instead of by a session of judges in chambers—Mr. Harrison reappointed Mr. Dye his deputy, and continued with his regiment in the field.

Upon his muster out Colonel Harrison resumed duty as reporter of the Supreme Court. While in the field he had received a letter from his former partner, Mr. W. P. Fishback, then of the firm of Porter & Fishback, inviting him to join that firm, which he subsequently did. The pertinacity with which he would cling to work is well illustrated by a habit he had while reporter of taking a roll of proof in his pocket when he went to the court-house, and of reading it in favorable intervals. He would even carry proof-sheets with him to concerts.

During his period of service in the army his family resided in a house at the corner of Alabama and North streets. At the time of his muster out he was in debt, but the profits of business upon his return, added to those of the reportership, soon relieved him, and he was even able to put some additions and improvements upon his property.

Thanks to an excellent memory, he was able upon re-entering the law office to share its labors with his partners to their satisfaction. Conscious that the practice of the law must remain his dependency through life he never allowed himself to grow rusty in it. While Supreme Court Reporter and United States Senator, he gave every spare minute to the office and to appearances in court. Persistence in such habits has enabled him, despite interruption, to reach the head of the

bar in Indiana, and maintain himself there in face of the rivalry of a number of lawyers of ability to adorn any court in the world.

The firm of Porter, Harrison & Fishback was formed in 1865. About five years afterwards Mr. Fishback went into the newspaper business, and the firm then became Messrs. Porter, Harrison & Hines. A change was next effected by the retirement of Governor Porter. Mr. W. H. H. Miller took his place. In 1883 Mr. Hines retired, and Mr. John B. Elam coming in, the firm-name became what it is to-day—Harrison, Miller & Elam.

General Harrison is a lawyer by natural gifts. Probably no contemporary exceeds him in quickness of comprehension and breadth or reach of judgment. Analysis with him is an instinctive mental operation. He does not go to the books to find principles; with the principles already in mind it is his custom to ask for the authorities. That which ought to be the law, as he sees it, almost invariably turns out to be the law. These qualities make him easily a master of all classes of questions, and equip him for practice in the highest courts as well as in the lower, in criminal cases not less than civil, in matters probate and in matters chancery. They make him also equally formidable before a jury or a judge. His examination and cross-examination of witnesses are never-failing sources of amusement and study to

the bystander. When he has finished with a witness and notified him to stand aside, it is seldom that he has not wrung from him all the person knows of the least pertinency to the issues. On such occasions he is scrupulously kind and courteous. The witness steps down and out and goes his way without bitterness; if he has crossed himself, very often he is unaware of it. In after reflection he remembers chiefly the pleasant voice and countenance of his interrogator.

So, in argument, in the heat of conflicts, General Harrison is scrupulously observant of the amenities due to the jury, opposing counsel and the presiding judge. His deportment to the latter is so respectful that, while wrestling against an adverse opinion, he was never known to have been the occasion of a scene in court. He is earnest where what he thinks his rights are involved, but never insolent, cringing or angry. In course of speech, speaking of the facts elicited, he keeps himself carefully within the record. In the closing arguments the opposing counsel finds no necessity to interrupt him; neither has he trouble with him in preparing a record for an appeal.

Tricks, traps, surprises and small advantages are foreign to General Harrison's ideas of professional honor. He may not always be eloquent, but he is always logical; if the occasion demands it, however, he can be grandly eloquent. His indignation, like his pathos, is natural. He despises

attempts at dramatic effect; he is characteristically straightforward, and his comparisons are never far-fetched; his figures of speech are always clothed in the simplest words, so that he is entertaining to everybody who hears him, and easily understood by everybody. The secret of his power, whether in court or on the stump, lies in the fact that he never fails to make himself perfectly understood.

These are words of high praise; they may even sound like extravagance; and whoever reads them may be curious to have samples set before him that he may decide for himself if what is said is justified by the facts. With this idea the writer consents to furnish two arguments in full.

Speech in the defense of General Alvin P. Hovey, in Milligan vs. Hovey, United States Circuit Court, May term, 1871.

Explanatory.

One of the incredible things incident to the war of the Rebellion—incredible at least to young people reading of that great event—is that there could be found in the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, whose soldiers were numbered by the hundred thousands, enough rebel sympathizers to attempt an armed revolution. But such was the fact, and the proof of it is absolute.

In the spring of 1864 a conspiracy was set on foot with intent to overthrow the government of

the United States. For that purpose a secret society known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, was organized. The immediate object was the separation of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky from the Eastern States; failing in that, the membership was to join fortunes with the South. It operated with grips, pass-words and obligations of secresy. Admitting the credibility of confessing leaders, it comprehended a membership of from 75,000 to 125,000 in Indiana; from 80,000 to 108,000 in Ohio; from 40,000 to 70,000 in Kentucky; from 100,000 to 130,000 in Illinois; from 20,000 to 40,000 in Missouri; and in Michigan and New York about 20,000 each. Vallandingham, in a speech at Dayton, Ohio, placed the membership at 500,000.

It was moreover a military organization, with a full complement of officers extending down from a commander-in-chief, and a fair supply of arms and ammunition. By inspection of invoices, there had been imported into Indiana alone, in February and March, 1864, 30,000 guns and revolvers, property of the so-called Sons of Liberty.

As might have been foreseen, the attention of the general government was drawn to the order. Arrests were made, followed by a prosecution. A military commission was assembled at the United States Court rooms in Indianapolis, September 19, 1864, by order of Brevet Major-Gen-

eral Alvin P. Hovey, before which, on the 21st of October, Wm. A. Bowles, Andrew Humphries, Horace Heffren, Lambdin P. Milligan and Stephen Horsey, citizens of Indiana, were solemnly arraigned for conspiracy against the government of the United States. The Ritual of the Order was submitted in proof, and amongst the witnesses there was one of the traitorous major-generals. The trial continued through many days, with result finally that the accused were found guilty and sentenced to death. President Lincoln subsequently commuted the sentence to imprisonment for life. The case, on habeas corpus, was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States by Major Gordon, counsel for the defense, who was assisted in argument there by Jeremiah Black and James A. Garfield. The court held that there was no jurisdiction in a military commission to try people of Indiana, for the reasons that Indiana was not within the theatre of war, and that civil government was in full operation within its borders. The prisoners, at the time in the Columbus (Ohio) penitentiary, were of course discharged.

Lambdin P. Milligan, while in the prison, had been set to work in a paint shop, and, claiming to have been poisoned with lead, upon his release brought suit for damages against James R. Slack and twenty-two defendants, amongst whom notably were General A. P. Hovey, Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate General of the United States Army, and

Oliver P. Morton, Governor of Indiana. The proceeding was begun in the Common Pleas Court of Huntington county, Indiana; subsequently, on petition of General James R. Slack and others, it was transferred to the United States Circuit Court for the district of Indiana.

General Benjamin Harrison appeared as an assistant in the defense, under appointment of President Grant. Judge Drummond presided at the hearing.

The trial excited great public interest, as at that time the echoes of the war were still distinctly heard. The rulings of the Supreme Court were of course imperative upon Judge Drummond; and there having been no jurisdiction in the military commission, there was a technical right of recovery. This the defendants recognized, and confined themselves to mitigation of damages.

That the contest was exciting may be justly inferred from the fact that it was chiefly between Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, for the prosecution, and General Harrison, for the defendants. The sympathies of the former were for his client on principle, for, if not himself a Son of Liberty, he was the father of the idea of a separate Northwestern Confederacy. On the other hand, the defendants were all personal friends of the latter, while some of them had been his comrades in arms. Governor Hendricks felt the intensity of

the prejudice existing against his client, but went through the ordeal with unflinching zeal and courage. General Harrison rested his plea of mitigation upon the treasonable acts of the plaintiff and his associate Sons of Liberty, and his struggle with the presiding judge was at times severe. To a suggestion from the court that he should cease further introduction of witnesses, Harrison replied that he would of course stop when ordered to, but so far as it was a matter in his discretion as counsel he should continue to offer further proof. He succeeded in getting of record the whole story of the treason; then the case went to the jury.

General Harrison's argument was as follows:

Gentlemen of the Jury: The case you have been called to try is a legacy of the war. It has brought back to our minds with vividness the vicissitudes and anxieties of that protracted struggle for national life. You have heard not of personal controversies, or of commerce or trade, but of historic events, of war, of State invasion, of gigantic and treasonable conspiracies against the public peace. The acts of which the plaintiff complains were done by the defendants in the character of public officers. They were United States soldiers, who had heard the cry of national distress, and with brave, true hearts, had forsaken all and dared all, that they might preserve us a Nation. Some of them are the maimed survivors of that struggle. By the blessing of God upon their valor the supremacy of the constitution and laws was asserted and restored. And now they are assailed, under the shield of that constitution and those laws, in a court whose continued existence is due to them and their associates in arms, and that too by one who compassed the destruc-

tion of that charter of liberty and personal right from which he now draws his weapons of attack.

I was saying that the acts complained of here on the part of the defendants were acts of an official character. They were not private injuries, nor trespasses, or wrongs committed through spite, but they were official acts. General Hovey, as commander of this military district, arrested the plaintiff. The commissioners who sat upon the trial of the case were soldiers of the Union, sworn to obey their superior officers, and acted upon such discretion as was left them under their official oaths to do their duty under the orders of the government. These gentlemen had been summoned to sit on this commission. Could they have refused to perform that duty? The command was an imperative one, and a refusal to obey would have been treated as being as grave an offence and as conspicuous disregard of military duty as a refusal to march at the trumpet call. What is the duty of a soldier?

> "His not to reason why,
> His not to make reply,
> His but to do or die."

I do not pretend that the order of any military commander could compel a court-martial to find a verdict of guilty or not guilty, but the duty of this court-martial was to sit through the trial, and hear the evidence and pronounce a judgment upon it in accordance with their conscientious convictions. Had any one of the gentlemen composing that court refused upon receiving his detail as a member to serve, he would have been himself liable to trial before a court-martial for disobedience of orders.

I shall speak to you presently upon the question whether the evidence before the commission was sufficient to support their finding, and, if it was, then I shall claim for them at your hands a full exculpation.

At the outset, then, I remark that this case is one which every man feels, in his heart, ought not ever to have been commenced. This is not only the expression

of private feeling, but both Congress and the Legislature of this State have expressed, in the form of law, their opinion that such actions as this ought not to be brought. The Congress of the United States, as early as 1863, and in several statutes passed since, have declared the opinion that when an officer, during a war, acting in good faith under an order of the President, has made an arrest in the interest of public peace and for the national security, he ought not afterward to be dragged before a jury to be amerced in damages. The Legislature of this State, by a statute passed in the year 1867, have expressed a like opinion, and enacted that where such an action was brought, the damages should in no case exceed five dollars. I do not speak to you for the purpose of discussing questions of law; questions of law the court will determine. I speak of the simple fact that Congress and our Legislature have both spoken in harmony with that feeling which arises in every true man's heart when he hears of cases like the present one—the feeling that they ought not to be brought. If this plaintiff, by his own fault—by having become a party to a treasonable and wicked conspiracy—drew upon himself this arrest, then he should be content that he has suffered but a part of the penalty of the great wrong that he contemplated.

There are persons walking to-day free and untrammeled through this whole land, who sought during the war, by secret conspiracy and overt violence, to destroy the Union—even since this trial began we have heard of the great leader of the Southern Confederacy publicly addressing his fellow-citizens of the South. He walks unrestrained, and is yet attempting as far as in him lies to rekindle the fires of revolution. How grand has been the magnanimity of our government! Look at human history from its beginning until now, and show me on its pages anything that can compare with the sublime magnanimity of the American Government towards its domestic enemies. Among the crimes against mankind this rebellion stands supreme. In lands where oppression has crushed the people to the dust, revolution has often shown itself in the assertion of right principles of

Government, and in the struggle towards that which our fathers attained here in the American Republic. This we have seen. But it was reserved for traitors in America—for citizens debauched by long connection with the institution of slavery—to kindle a war against the Government whose hand had never been felt by them except as it conferred blessings upon them. After their great crime these men are free to-day. The nation has covered them with the mantle of forgetfulness and amnesty. And is it too much to ask that acts like those complained of in the present case, which are only the consequences the plaintiff brought upon himself by previous acts of treasonable conspiracy against the Government—that they shall be covered with the same mantle?

If the men who sought with bloody hand and by treasonable conspiracy to destroy the nation shall go free, shall they who spent their blood to save it from destruction be arraigned before a jury of the country and amerced in damages for doing the acts which the defendants did?

The charges against the plaintiff, upon which he was put upon trial before the Military Commission, were of the gravest character. If he was guilty of them death was the mildest punishment that should have been visited upon him. If he, a citizen of this State, dwelling here under the beneficent protection of our State government, remote from the institution of slavery, which was the spring of treason and the corner-stone of rebellion; if he, dwelling here, engaged with others in a direct conspiracy against the government, and lent his sympathies, not to the defenders of our bleeding country, but to rebels; if he did not only all this, but sought to turn loose the dogs of war within our peaceful States, corresponding secretly with the enemies of the country, and invited them to our soil instead of arraying himself against them; if he, conspiring against the peace of our State, stood upon our soil and sent out his voice to rebels across the river—if he did all this, then I say that death, ignominious death, was the least punishment which any true man would say ought to have been

visited upon him. Did the officers who arrested him, and the court that tried him, have reason to believe him guilty of these crimes?

These offenses grew out of, and were connected with, a secret order known at different times by different names, but having the same officers, the same membership, and the same design. What were the purposes of that secret order? Gentlemen, its history is a black page in the history of Indiana, and yet we are compelled to turn our minds to the consideration of it for a brief moment. Far rather would I call into review before you those pages of our Nation's history which have been made glorious by a record of the exploits of Indiana soldiers in the field; but for the present let us look, painful as is the duty, at this page made black with treason. What were the purposes of this secret order? We could not expect to find them plainly stated in its rituals or oaths. Such purposes always wear a cloak; yet we may hope to find in these rituals something which may furnish a clue. We may hope now and then to peep through the cloak in which treason wrapped itself, and see something of its hideous lineaments. We read in these rituals a good deal about education and literature, and we hear, at least in one of its councils, that the subject of establishing a great university in which the political lessons of the order were to be taught was gravely discussed. The distinguished Senator (Mr. Hendricks) has called attention to the testimony of some of the witnesses in regard to this matter, as if he would have you believe that it was really one of the purposes of the order. Will you believe, gentlemen, for one moment, that the establishment of newspapers, the cultivation of letters, or the founding of a university was ever in the serious contemplation of its members? That is too thin a disguise to hide the face of treason.

There is in the obligations, at least in one of them, the vow not to reveal any of the contemplated designs of the order, and it proves that there was something contemplated not revealed in the books. Then we find, in the next place, another vow not to reveal secrets com-

municated by a brother of the order, but rather than do so to suffer death. Now what were these secrets which, when communicated to a brother, he was to hold sacred under a penalty of death? We find also another obligation not to reveal any conjectured purpose. When these men, many of them deceived, were brought into the vestibule of the order, where only some general political lessons were shown, they took an oath not to reveal a conjectured purpose, and as they acquired the degrees, and the darkness of the designs of the order dawned upon them, that oath was there as a safeguard against disclosures and to constrain them to conceal purposes not exposed in the books. Now, gentlemen, what were those purposes? I insist that in the rituals of the order there is to be found a muster-in oath into the Southern army. I shall read you presently what, as you now look back and recall public events, can have no other meaning. And I charge it upon them to-day that, as one of the effects of the obligations assumed by them in their ritual, the members of the order of American Knights, or Sons of Liberty, were mustered in as soldiers of the Confederate army in the State of Indiana.

The following is a portion of the obligation taken by a "Neophyte," read from the ritual of the order:

"I do further promise that I will, at all times, if needs be, take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—in my country first of all—against any Monarch, Prince, Potentate, Power or Government usurped, which may be found in arms, and waging war against a people or peoples, who are endeavoring to establish, or have inaugurated, a Government for themselves of their own free choice, in accordance with, and founded upon, the eternal principles of Truth which I have sworn in the V, and now in this presence do swear, to maintain inviolate, and defend with my life. This I do promise, without reservation or evasion of mind; without regard to the name, station, condition or destination of the invading or coercing power, whether it shall arise within or come from without."

Who were the "oppressed" people in whose behalf

the Neophyte, coming in through the vestibule of the temple, upon bended knee, swore to take up arms? Who were the people oppressed by an usurper? Which the States against whom a usurper was waging war? Answer it upon your oaths, gentlemen. Do you doubt that the persons taking that oath on bended knee did not understand it as binding them to take up arms on behalf of the rebel Confederacy? It can mean nothing less. No man familiar with the history of the times can believe otherwise of it. The oath was a muster-in oath, and he who took it was as much a recruit of Jefferson Davis' army as if he had been actually in the army of the rebel States. If he regarded his obligations, if he meant to perform his vows, he was as much a servant of Jefferson Davis, and as much bound to obey his orders as if he had been mustered into the army of Lee then confronting Grant at Richmond.

Major Gordon showed you plainly that the political doctrines upon which the South took up arms against the government are as plainly stated and announced in these rituals as they ever were in any political convention. The supremacy of the general government is utterly denied in them. Supremacy—sovereignty—is declared to be in the States. Any attempt to resist or thwart the resolutions of any of the States is declared to be usurpation and a crime.

But further than this, as if it were not enough to swear to take up arms in behalf of the Confederacy, the ritual contains an oath binding upon every man who entered the order, not to serve in the armies of the United States. Let me read to you, for a moment, from the ritual: "That my sword shall ever be drawn in support of the right, and that I will never take up arms in any case as a mercenary." Now, in the light of the public proclamations, editorials and speeches issued by these men, who were the soldiers of the United States? They were "Lincoln hirelings"—they were "mercenaries.' Tell me if those were not the familiar names by which the Federal troops were known and designated here in Indiana by the men who had no sympathy for the cause for which those troops were fighting.

What did the man who took this obligation understand it to mean if not that he was swearing never to serve in the army of the United States? While loyal men were going up and down the land exhorting their fellow-citizens to come to the defense of the Union, these Sons of Liberty were dragging the young and unsuspecting into their ranks.

Here, then, we have in the ritual of this secret order an oath, on the one hand, never to take up arms in defense of the government, and, on the other, a muster oath into the service of the rebel government. That more than a political organization was contemplated is plain from another fact—all cripples were excluded. The person admitted took an obligation never to introduce a cripple or person of unsound mind into the order. The one-armed or the one-legged cripple had as much political influence, as much political power, as the man who had all the limbs which God had given him, and it was as important that he should be properly instructed in correct political principles. Should a poor cripple be excluded from participation in the order, if it was merely a political organization, because, perchance, he had lost a limb while serving his country? What did this mean, gentlemen? They who took the obligation understood it to mean that they were to do military service; and just as the mustering officer of the United States stripped the recruit and examined him to see if he was able for the fray, so these men swore not to admit into their organization any man who would be unfit for the strife when the strife contemplated should come. They excluded the African, too. It was a very great work of supererogation to do that; for if there was ever any negro in Indiana so degraded as to ask for political association with such men, I have never heard of the fact. There were none of that kind, degraded, as many had been, by years of servitude. I never have seen, nor heard, nor read of one, either here or down in the South, whose heart did not always beat in response to the music of the Union. I never heard of, never met one who was not the friend of the Union soldier. Instances are

plenty—the history of our war is full of them—where our men, fleeing from Southern prison pens, crippled, exhausted, famished, owed their lives to the faithful and unswerving loyalty of black men. One of the meanest things in this whole order, one of the meanest political sentiments it ever uttered, was its constant expression of hatred of the negroes. Some of you may have seen a little poem by John Hay, which, though rough in language, strikes a chord in every true man's heart, and gives the strongest rebuke to the unworthy feeling of which I am speaking.

Sergeant Tilman Joy, a resident of "Spunky Pint," in the State of "Illanoy," and a Democrat, heard his country's call, and

> "Laid his politics out of the way
> For to keep till the war was through."

Then he sought his home, bringing with him "Banty Tim," a colored boy. His old political associates assembled (whether in a lodge of the Sons of Liberty or in open Democratic convention is not disclosed) and resolved (you may have heard the sentiment before) that "This is a white man's country." The conclusion, as communicated to Sergeant Joy by a committee, was that

> "The nigger has got to mosey
> From the limits of Spunky Pint."

The Sergeant tells them a story of Vickburg. How, when our left struck the heights and were repulsed, he was left wounded, almost dying on the glacis, unsheltered from the blistering Southern sun. And here I must give you the story in the touching language of the author:

> "Till along toward dusk I saw a thing,
> I couldn't believe for a spell;
> That nigger—that Tim—was a crawlin' to me
> Through that fire-proof, gilt-edged hell!
> The rebels saw him as quick as me,
> And the bullets buzzed like bees;
> But he jumped fer me, and shouldered me,
> Though a shot brought him once to his knees;

But he staggered up and packed me off,
With a dozen stumbles and falls,
Till safe in our lines he dropped us both,
His black hide riddled with balls."

Here, in this rough picture, we have the true, honest sentiment of a man conscious of patriotic obligation and who is willing to stand up for the friend of his country. On the other hand, in the obligations of this order I have read to you, we have not only outspoken hatred against the black man, but against all who stood by the flag and its defenders.

But, after all, as we could not expect to have them written plainly in their books, we must look to the acts of the founders and managers of this organization to ascertain its true purposes.

The court will tell you that the law of conspiracy is that if two or more agree and combine to do an unlawful act, and it be shown either by express words or by conduct pointing in the common direction when the agreement and common consent of the mind to do the act is established, each man is answerable for every word and for every deed of those with whom he has thus conspired in furtherance of the common design. Keep in mind, gentlemen, while we trace the connection of Milligan with this secret order, that if we once bring him into connection with, and to an assent of mind to, the great crime that was contemplated by the Sons of Liberty, he then becomes responsible in the eye of the law for every word and every act which Bowles or Bullitt or Dodd said or did in execution of the common treasonable object.

Touching the purpose of the order, as drawn from the declarations of its members, we have from Dr. Wilson a statement of them as given in a meeting of the Grand Council held in Indianapolis in November, 1864. Now, Dr. Wilson is not a friend or associate of either of the defendants in this cause; I think I may even say that he does not come here with his mind at all prepossessed in favor of Union soldiers. On the contrary, he comes reluctantly, an associate, co-conspirator and friend

of the plaintiff. He comes because brought here by the process of this court. He comes not yet weaned from his allegiance to the organization of which the plaintiff was a member, for here, on the witness stand, before you, he has declared that in the principles and purposes of this order he yet finds that which commended itself to his heart and conscience. Will the Senator (Mr. Hendricks) assail Dr. Wilson? Is he a credible witness? Much of the testimony that we have brought before you has been peculiar in that we have had to go into the camp of these traitors and bring them from it to tell you of their treason. Dr. Wilson says that in the meeting held in November, 1864, at which Milligan was present, as confessed by himself and testified to by other witnesses, the designs of the order were plainly stated by Mr. Wright. The Senator will try to make you believe that that was at the September meeting, and not at the November meeting, because a witness, Harrison, thinks that it was in September Wright was here giving his lessons, but we have Wilson's positive testimony that it was in November. He swore to it before the Military Commission, and he swears to the same thing here. He swears that Milligan was present. I read now from the testimony of James B. Wilson, as reported in the journal:

"I was present at Indianapolis at a meeting of the Grand Council, in November, 1863, within a month or two after I went into the order. I think there was a Military Committee appointed at that meeting, and that Mr. Dodd delivered a speech to the Council or to the members of it. I think he said something about seizing railroads, cutting telegraph lines and driving away the State government. I could not repeat any of the words he said. He intimated, I think, something about taking possession of the railroads; that that could be done and the telegraph wires cut, and that any movement that might be contemplated by the order could in that way be carried out without interference from the State authorities. I think about fifty persons were present when he made that statement."

I will not tire you by reading further. You will re-

member the witness stating that the overthrow of the State government was contemplated, and that when that design was consummated the Committee of Thirteen was to assume control of the State. Dodd was to be Governor, and the other State offices were to be filled from the committee named.

Here, then, is the testimony of a witness unfriendly to these defendants and a political and personal friend and associate of the plaintiff, a member of this order, bound to Mr. Hendricks' client by the obligations solemnly sworn to, giving us its purposes as declared in a public meeting by its Grand Commander—a public meeting, too, as I shall show you presently, at which the plaintiff Milligan was present.

Then, in the very first State meeting of the order, its Grand Commander publicly declared it an object of his society to aid the rebels of the South by overthrowing the State government, and the authority of the National government within the State, and in their place establishing another government in sympathy with the rebel government in the Southern States.

Another purpose declared at that meeting and at Chicago was to release the rebel prisoners, five thousand of whom were in camp here, watched by a small guard. They were an army brought here from the front through the successful valor of our armies, some from Vicksburg and some from other fields of victory in the South. They were to be released and turned into our streets to begin here the work of destruction and outrage which had marked their course everywhere that they trod upon the soil of the loyal States.

Gentlemen, the guilt, the horrid guilt, of men who could contemplate turning loose into the streets of our beautiful city five thousand enraged prisoners, with arms in their hands, to begin the work of rapine and blood cannot be expressed in words. It was a purpose conceived in devilish malignity. The man who could cherish such a purpose, who could take a step in its execution—what does he not deserve of punishment at the hands of those against whose lives and homes and property he

plotted? We had prisoners starving for years in some of the prison pens of the South, but if ever the sympathies of the men belonging to this order were moved in their behalf there is no record of it in this case or in history.

Another purpose disclosed was the destruction of government property. The government had collected in warehouses immense stores which were being sent forward to supply the army in its contemplated campaigns. The railroads traversing our country and the steamboats navigating the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were loaded with these stores, the destruction of which was sufficient sometimes to thwart a great operation. Still another of the objects of the order, as disclosed here, was to put aboard our steamboats, freighted with stores and yet more precious lives, their infernal machines, which, in the night time, when men slept, should kindle fires and bring destruction to life and property. This was a purpose canvassed and actually listened to with approbation by such men as Bowles, and Milligan, and Dodd, and Horsey, and Humphries, and Dr. Wilson himself, who tells you of it. It was listened to as one would listen to the common details of a business affair. The per cent. that was to be paid for this infamous service by the rebel government, out of money stolen from our paymasters, was definitely fixed, and it was boasted that already government property had been thus destroyed.

Is not language utterly powerless to express the abhorrence, the utter detestation which an honest heart must feel against monsters who could conceive such purposes as these? Mr. Hendricks talked to us a little in his opening speech of the horrible character of the proceedings before the Military Commission. I wish I might arouse him to a like abhorrence of this horrible conspiracy, and I shall look, gentlemen, to see if, in his concluding speech, he will not employ that gift of language and eloquence with which he has been endowed in denouncing it.

We have seen that at Chicago Judge Bullitt, of Kentucky,

Bowles, Dodd, Wilson and others assembled, discussed projects like those I have described as coolly as we would a transaction in real estate. Where were their consciences and moral nature? There is not a villain in a penitentiary, North or South, whose heart ever compassed or whose hand was ever reached out to execute a plan so utterly hellish as this. That a man who had conceived such plots, and who was only prevented from sharing in their execution by being taken into custody, and held for trial, by patriotic officers of the government, can come into our court rooms and sit here, day after day, seeking to recover damages against them, is an amazing instance of clemency. Whatever purpose Lee, Beauregard, or John Morgan and the marauding guerillas who operated through the border States under him, might put upon them to accomplish, these conspirators were organized to accomplish. Whatever purpose they had, these men had. Not Grant, not Sherman, not the brave men who stood with Indiana regiments in defense of our government, were the friends of Bowles, and Milligan, and Humphreys, and Horsey. Their friends were the enemies of the country.

Consider next the condition of things at that time in our army. Sherman, in the spring of 1864, started on his grand campaign to the sea; and from May until the 2d of September he was toilsomely marching from Chattanooga to Atlanta, his way marked with the graves of his intrepid soldiers, killed by the sympathizers and associates of this plaintiff. Grant, starting about the same time, was making his difficult and bloody march through the Wilderness and Spottsylvania to Petersburg. The time was when all the energies of our people were upon a strain, when every patriotic heart was filled with unutterable anxiety for the success of those great campaigns. It was at the very crisis of our country's fate, these conspirators, here, in Indianapolis, in June, the plaintiff being present, as I shall show you, were devising and debating schemes intended to balk our armies, to turn back the tide of Union victories.

To bring to your minds something of the condition of

the country at that time, I desire to read to you, as part of my speech, a communication or two from the Generals commanding the armies of the United States:

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.
CITY POINT, VA., August 16, 1864.

TO HON. E. B. WASHBURNE:

Dear Sir: I state to all citizens who visit me that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day.

With this drain upon them, the end is not far distant, if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is a divided North. This might give them reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quickly enforced the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxiou to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects.

They hope a counter revolution; they hope the election of the Peace candidate. In fact, like "Micawber," they hope for something to "turn up." Our Peace friends, if they except peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would but be the beginning of war with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have "peace on any terms" the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed; they would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay for the restoration of every slave escaping to the North. Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 14.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, NEW YORK:

Lieutenant-General Grant telegraphs this department in regard to the draft as follows:

CITY POINT, 10.30 A. M., September 13.

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War:*

We ought to have the whole number of men called for by the President in the shortest possible time. Prompt action in filling our armies will have more effect upon the enemy than a victory over them. They profess to believe and make their men believe there is such a party North in favor of recognizing Southern independence that the draft cannot be enforced. Let them be undeceived.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*

The following despatch is from the present General of our armies:

ATLANTA, GA., 6.30 P. M., September 18.

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War:*

I am very glad to hear that the draft will be enforced. First, we want men; second, they come as privates to fill up our old and tried regiments, with their experienced officers already on hand; and third, because the enforcement of the law will manifest a power resident in our government equal to the occasion. Our government, though a Democracy, should in times of trouble and danger be able to wield the power of a great nation. All well. W. T. SHERMAN, *Major-General.*

The General-in-chief, commanding one of our armies, then in the immediate theatre of its operations, now President of the United States, speaking from his official position, thus declared that the hopes of the Confederacy hung on the movement which these men were endeavoring to inaugurate in the State of Indiana. Their plans must have been known; their promises to kindle a rebellion here were known at Richmond; and thus that struggle was long protracted which would have ended at once but for the hope held out that our home governments would be assailed by armed forces composed of traitorous citizens, and the troops recalled from the front to prevent their overthrow.

I have read these brief extracts from the communications of the great Generals who were leading our armies in the east and west, to show you how much the success of their campaigns depended on the enforcement of the draft, and the prompt suppression of disorders at home. They well appreciated the importance of the command that General Hovey held, and the help that would come to them by the prompt execution of the draft in Indiana, and the suppression of resistance to the National authority. Here then was the Confederacy stumbling towards its fall, and here was a movement on foot to restore its vigor by so weakening the power of our armies that they might not be able to maintain themselves in the field. The painful condition of affairs at that time through the whole country it is impossible for me to describe. It would be impossible for you or me to recall the anxiety, the watchfulness and the suspense everywhere to be seen in the country in 1864. The old mother in her country home, her boys all gone, plies her busy needle, and with

every stitch lifts a prayer to God for victory and for the safety of her boys. The old father following again the plough which he had long left to be guided by the stalwart hands of the boy now gone, as he turns the furrow, his drooping form bent to unwonted labor, recalls the features of that boy, and longs for his return, yet is willing that the supreme sacrifice of the loved life may be made, if such sacrifice is necessary to save the Union. Then, when the old people gathered around the fireside altar, when the old man came from the field, and the old family Bible came down from its shelf, and they bowed alone before God, what was the burden of prayer? How the old man's voice, quivering with emotion, lifted itself toward the throne of grace in the one all-absorbing supplication to God for victory and the quick return of the absent one. And how many houses there were in which lonely wives and fatherless little ones dragged wearily on, their days and nights full of painful watching and apprehension. A cloud of anxiety seemed settled above their roof. The provider gone, the wife is doomed to unaccustomed toil. And then, too, there were times in such households as I have described, when sickness came, and the child stretched upon the bed, moaning and tossing with fever, asked with parched lips for papa, and when he would come home. And the counterpart of this I have seen with my own eyes—where the soldier, hearing the news from home, and without hope of release from duties in the field, braced his heart, wrung as it was with anguish and sorrow, and went forward to meet the enemy.

These are no fancy pictures; they are only imperfectly drawn. I have myself seen brave men by the camp-fire and on the march in tears at such news from home, yet submitting themselves to the exigencies of the service.

So, all over the land, in public places of information, about newspaper offices, the anxious crowds gathered to see whether the painful struggle was drawing to a close, to hear whether at last God seemed to be favorable to us in the strife. And then, in counterpart, I remember well

a hillside I looked upon only three days after Vallandigham wrote the letter of the 12th of June, 1864, in which he told his friends that Sherman was brought to a standstill and falling back. I saw at Resaca the dead that had died for you and me. Our own brave boys, who, only a half hour before, I had seen and greeted in health and life, were lying there all mangled and lifeless. And why? Because they loved their country and were not willing that traitors should trample the flag in the dust. My distinguished friend who has addressed you for the plaintiff in this case, and will soon speak to you again, has said a great deal about the horrible character of the trial of his client before the Military Commission, and has talked a great deal about the citizen and his rights. Let him now speak an honest word for the soldier. Let him tell you how his heart burns in good honest sympathy with the men who stood for the defense of his country and theirs. There were other scenes of the war besides those witnessed upon the battle-field upon which men could not look without emotion. Down yonder, at Andersonville, for instance, thousands of our brave boys were guarded in a pen with nothing to shield them from the pitiless sun, in rags and tatters, starving and emaciated, until they were wrecks in body and gibbering idiots. Such was the work of Milligan and his co-conspirators of the North, who, by holding out aid and comfort to the enemy, protracted the war. The rebel guards who guarded the prison at Andersonville did not more bitterly hate everything that was loyal than did he and his associates here in Indiana.

Gentlemen, I ask your attention for a little while to the question whether the plaintiff was a participant in this business with full knowledge. That he was elected a Major-General of the Sons of Liberty is not denied, nor is it pretended that he ever declined the office. The whole matter, then, so far as he is concerned, is simply, did he have information of his election? Three other Major-Generals were elected with him, and if they all knew the fact, how singular if he did not. Humphreys admits that he was notified. Bowles knew of his

election, and John C. Walker was not left in ignorance; he actually entered on the duties of his military office. The three were appointed Major-Generals at the same time with Milligan. Now, if you and I, members of an order, should be elected to offices in it, and at subsequent meetings, two of them at least, we should be present, is it probable we should be left uninformed of the honor done us? Milligan was elected in September at a meeting of the Grand Council. He talked with Dodd and others who were present, and heard all the speeches that have been testified about, yet nobody told him that he had been elected Major-General! That is his story. Do you believe it? He was present at the November meeting following. He does not deny that. And Stidger and Wilson both tell you that at that meeting the military part of the organization was talked of, and Stidger said, both in his evidence before the Commission and here, that Milligan was a member of the committee at the November meeting; and, from the other evidence, it is clear that it was the military committee of the order of which he was a member. Then, two months after his election, we find him in the Grand Council. How came he of the Grand Council? By the evidence the Major-Generals were ex-officio members. Was Milligan elected a member? Was he sent as a delegate to the Grand Council? If so, by whom? If a delegate from any county temple, where is the evidence of it? If he was there not as a Major-General of the order, why was he there at all, and how?

Now, at the November meeting it was said by the witnesses, Harrison and Stidger, that this military part of the organization was fully canvassed, and Wilson, who is not favorably disposed to us, speaks of Dodd's revealing the varied details of his plan for concentrating forces at Indianapolis and seizing the capital. Still the plaintiff tells you that he was not aware that he had any connection with them. In the next place, he was present, if not at the February meeting, at the June meeting of the State Council. I know he denied this as a witness, but I saw it in the faces of this jury, and from what I

know of the way men look at such stories, that you did not credit his story touching his trip to Hamilton, Ohio. Stidger swears he was present in June. Harrison thinks he was there, but is not certain. Besides their testimony we have that of Mr. Ibach. Judging from his conduct on the stand, we may take it for granted that he was not a friend of the defendants, nor did he want them to succeed in this case. Before the Military Commission he testified as proved, that Bowles, for whom he was called, was present at the June meeting. He now says he does not think he was. We find by the testimony of Stidger, and the testimony of Ibach, the friend of the plaintiff, there can be no doubt that in June, 1864, when the proposed military operations were again canvassed before the Grand Council, Milligan was present, and Stidger says he was on the military committee then appointed.

We have more direct evidence still of his complicity in these plans. Harrison was sent by Dodd, as Grand Commander, to communicate with Milligan at his home in Huntington. The message he bore him was not to be trusted through the mails of the United States; so it was sent according to the very plan spoken of in Chicago—that the Grand Commander should send to the Major-Generals of the order information by private couriers, and that they in turn should communicate it in the same manner to their immediate subordinates. I say, in execution of that very design, Dodd sent Harrison, the Grand Secretary of the order, with a secret summons to Milligan. Harrison says Dodd did not say to him that the purpose of the meeting to which Milligan was summoned was to consult as to how they should seize the State government, but he did tell him what the plan was and that he should go and notify Milligan to come down here on a certain day for the purpose of consultation. Was it necessary for Dodd to say to Harrison, or for Harrison to say to Milligan, what the purpose of the consultation was? Do you not know that Harrison understood well, when Dodd disclosed his plan to him, the purpose for which Milligan was wanted here? And do you not just as well know that Milligan understood

it also? Harrison is not a friend of ours. He is not the fellow or associate of these defendants, but a co-conspirator and fellow of the plaintiff. He tells you that he himself laid before Milligan all of Dodd's plans for an insurrection in Indiana. Now, if Milligan had not had Dodd's confidence, and if Dodd had not had his confidence, would he have sent this messenger to him at all? He did not stop with anybody else. Going hence to Lafayette, and from Lafayette up through the Wabash Valley toward Huntington, he held communication with no man, but sped on his way to the home of Milligan, because his mission was to him. Dodd knew Milligan's commission and place in the order. Harrison H. Dodd, the Grand Commander of the State, knew that Milligan was thoroughly committed to the treason about to be inaugurated in the State. Otherwise he would not have sent the message to him by the one man in all Indiana proper to carry it—the Grand Secretary of the order. The theory that Milligan was a Major-General makes everything plain, for the northeastern part of the State was Milligan's military district, and in all that section there was but one person to whom, as Grand Commander, he should communicate orders. He had nothing to do with messages to the councils of the counties—the county temples, as they were called—so his messenger goes straight from the head of the conspiracy here in Indianapolis to the Major-General at Huntington, before whom he secretly lays the whole plan. Do you not think Dodd gave Harrison to understand that Milligan was all right before he made the revelation to him? Do you think, if any of you had met Mr. Harrison on the cars between here and Huntington, that he would have told you anything about the scheme for an insurrection in the State, comprehending a forcible seizure of the State government? Not a syllable would have escaped his lips to you or to anybody else whom he did not know fully committed to the military purposes of the organization. If a man is contemplating such a crime, whom does he tell of meetings held in pursuance of it, of the plans for its execution? Only those already committed,

like himself, to the bloody work. His lips are sealed to all others. Wherefore, saying there was not another particle of evidence in this case from first to last, the meeting that Harrison had with Milligan is conclusive that Milligan was a Major-General in the order, and that Dodd sent Harrison to him as such, and that he understood the meeting to which he was bid was in pursuance of the conspiracy.

And, further, Milligan did not deny having the interview with Harrison. He was asked if Harrison came to see him, and he admitted it. Nor did he deny that Harrison disclosed to him Dodd's contemplated projects—his resolution was not quite strong enough to face that. He had enough to do to explain how he managed to get around from Huntington to Dayton, Ohio, and home again without denial of the matters spoken of by the witnesses.

Now here is a purpose disclosed. Suppose him at that time an innocent man; suppose he had one instinct of patriotism yet unextinguished in his soul. When that communication was made to him, would he not have committed the messenger of the devilish project to the first Provost-Marshal accessible? Would he not have exposed the designs and had all who contemplated them arrested? I say if there had been a spark of patriotism left in his heart, the injury contemplated to the government of his State, to say nothing of the danger to his fellow-citizens, would have kindled it into righteous flame. Yet he heard it all without objection. Not only did he hear it without objection; he gave his promise to be here if he could and assist in the work at the time appointed. Let the counsel then come and argue that his client is innocent, that he is clear of this guilty conspiracy. Now, in the face of the fact that his client sat through two meetings of the Grand Council after his first and second election to the office of Major-General, let his counsel argue his innocence; to do it sincerely he must believe, and before you can be convinced of it you must believe, that nobody, not even his confidential friend Dodd, meeting him often as he did in the Grand

Council where these matters were discussed, ever disclosed to him the extraordinary honors put upon him by the order. Especially is it to be remembered that he addressed Dodd as *General* in a letter that has been read in evidence. Gentlemen, I say, in the light of these facts, the man who can believe Milligan, the plaintiff, was not a Major-General of the Sons of Liberty, is a born imbecile.

Next, but in the same line of argument, I call your attention to two other circumstances: one is his calling in the old soldier named Elder to inquire about what constituted the staff of a Major-General. That, you will remember, was in 1864, as that old soldier thought. It undoubtedly connected itself in his mind with the events of that year. The soldier says Milligan inquired about the staff of a Major-General, and that the inquiry stopped there. If I had to decide which of the two I would believe, Milligan or the soldier, I would take the soldier. In the first place, Milligan's testimony is impaired by his proved connection with this conspiracy. Then the guilt of the crime is infinitely worse than that of homicide, worse even than that of the man who invades your homes. He who could be a party to it is a villain of blacker hue than those whom the law from day to day is putting its hands upon in our criminal courts. Therefore, I say, if I had to choose between the two I would believe the soldier. He tells you the inquiry was limited to what constituted the staff of a Major-General; that not one word was said about the pay of a Major-General or the pay of his staff, but how many aids he had, how many Adjutant-Generals, Inspectors, Provost-Marshals. Mr. Milligan tells you the consultation with Elder was for the purpose of making a speech to the people and showing them how expensive the war was; therefore, he says he did not ask about the number of Major-Generals in the service nor about their pay. To me it looks that a gentleman aspiring to the candidacy of his party for the chief executive office in the State, as Milligan was, should have been able to find some more reliable source of information than a private from the

United States army. If his purpose had been what he says it was, he would have sought the army regulations and published documents of that character. But no; he wished, in secret, without making noise about it, to ascertain who should compose the staff of a Major-General, that, at the time this uprising was to occur, he might move forth with all the epauletted dignity of a Major-General of the Sons of Liberty, surrounded by a suitable staff.

My second reference is to some papers found at Huntington. Mr. Milligan gives a very innocent account of them, as he does of his trip to Dayton. Unfortunately for him, the papers he described do not agree with the papers found. A gentleman comes here and tells you that he went into Milligan's office in company with a law student of Milligan's, and that they there destroyed certain papers. This was soon after the arrest. The young man was familiar with the papers, and the fact of their destruction is conclusive that he knew they had something to do with the Sons of Liberty, otherwise he would not have put them into the fire. Remember that as a fact.

Remember that Wilson Smith and Mr. Dembo, the student, if that was his name, both thought the papers destroyed had connection with the Sons of Liberty. The rituals of the order were found there—rituals of an order that he swore he never belonged to, and the name of which, as you probably observed, I could not wring out of him, so true was he to its obligations. The papers Milligan described were not ruled like the papers Wilson Smith described. He says they had three columns of figures, while Smith says they had five. In one column was set down the Republican strength of the county, in another the Democratic strength, and in the next column were figures which Wilson Smith thought might be intended for majorities, but upon examination he found that they were not; for he tells you he knew the majorities in that section of the State, and they did not agree at all. He tells you also that there were but three columns of figures, while upon the papers Milligan

described to Mr. Hendricks there were two or more additional columns of "hypothecated majorities," as he calls them. If those papers had more than three columns of figures, they are not the papers found in his office after his arrest, and he has not explained that evidence away. Now, if you please, gentlemen, what were those papers found in his office and burned by his law student and Wilson Smith after his arrest, if not the field report of a Major-General's military command, the forces under him in the Order of the Knights of the Golden Circle? What part of the State did the papers embrace? The northeastern portion of the State of Indiana—a solid body of counties. Mr. Milligan tells you the papers he described covered the whole State; Wilson Smith says the papers he found did not cover the whole State, but the counties corresponded exactly with what, according to the evidence laid before you, constituted the military district of Major-General Milligan. So that I say it is not true, according to the weight of the evidence, that there were destroyed only innocent political documents prepared here at the session of the legislature with a view to legislative purposes. In the light of the interview with the old soldier and the information sought of him; in the light of the conduct of the student who, from his associations, was in likelihood himself a member of the order and familiar with the papers—I say he helped destroy them because they connected Milligan with the proposed traitorous military operations of Grand Commander Dodd.

We have then this evidence of the plaintiff's complicity with the designs of the treasonable organization; and the man who can, in view of the facts that Milligan was elected a Major-General in September, 1863, and re-elected in February, 1864, and that he afterwards attended two meetings of the order—the juror, I say, who can believe that Milligan never knew he was elected such Major-General, does not need evidence to aid him in the determination of any question; he believes without evidence—believes over evidence—believes in the teeth of all human conduct and experience.

We have, then, this conspiracy, embracing the most infamous designs. We have Milligan, a prince in this Israel of treason and crime. Then, going further, he and his associates did acts in execution of their conspiracy. They communicated with the enemy in Missouri; they brought rebel officers into this city and set them down, in the habiliments of peaceful citizens, at the public tables of the hotels—the very men intended to be leaders and commanders of the rebel prisoners whose rescue was sought that they might be turned loose upon the people of the city. Still further, Milligan's associates rose in arms in resistance to the draft. In many of the counties of the State the enrolling officers were threatened and beaten. Such as came to enforce the draft and give notices to those upon whom the lot of service had fallen were put in jeopardy; some of them were murdered on the public roads of the country. Such was the condition of things, and these the overt acts of fellow-conspirators of this plaintiff in the State of Indiana.

Now, gentlemen, the next question: Did the order, as it appears in the evidence, put in peril the public peace in Indiana? If it did, then the military officer who failed to do his utmost to suppress it was a recreant to the cause of his country.

Mr. Hendricks will say that many of these troubles and dangers were either imaginary or greatly exaggerated, or invented by paid detectives of the government. Well, gentlemen, I will now show you that some gentlemen in Indianapolis were badly frightened about that time who were not paid detectives or in any too active sympathy with these defendants. My friend, Mr. Hendricks, was disposed to be a little satirical in regard to General Carrington, and to me it seemed a little disrespectful. We have all heard some scarred veterans speak sneeringly of the Home Guards, and of those whose business was in the office and the cabinet instead of the field, and we could hear them with patience; but until the distinguished Senator shall show some more conspicuous service done for his country than he has thus far rendered, it does not become him to put contempt on

the honest, useful and meritorious duties of General Carrington. They were useful and honorable, and I say to-day that high executive ability, earnest patriotism, resolution and firm purpose were oftentimes as well displayed in the cabinet, in the council, and in the organization of troops, as in the presence of the enemy. The great Bismarck of our American war, Secretary Stanton, in his office at Washington, without facing the enemy in the field for a single hour, was all the time doing gigantic good for his country; and when the history of the sorrowful time is written, and men's minds turn away a little from the smoke and conflict of the actual battle, the services of that man in council will be still more highly appreciated and honored. So I say for General Carrington, who, for a considerable portion of the war, here and in Ohio, discharged the duties of the commander of a district, organizing its forces, and helping keep down insurrection and treason in the State—I say his part was useful and honorable, and should not be held up to ridicule or contempt.

I was saying to you, gentlemen, that the Senator would no doubt picture to you General Carrington as greatly alarmed by the exaggerated stories. I now want to tell you of some men who, I hope, really loved their government at the bottom, but who certainly were not the detectives of General Carrington, nor much in the habit of speaking in its praise. From the record in the proceedings before the Military Commission I will show you what they thought of the reality of the peril that then threatened the State. I turn now to pages 101 and 102 of that record, to the story of Mr. Joseph J. Bingham, principal editor then and now of the leading Democratic organ at the capital of Indiana. I take it from his associations, and all we know of him, that he was not a man to be easily scared by threats and vague perils; a man who, to say the least, would not be apt to take unnecessary alarm. I might say the same of the Hon. M. C. Kerr; and who of our citizens is more composed, more quiet, less liable to fright, than our respected townsmen, Joseph E. McDonald, and Dr. Athon, then

Secretary of State? Were they liable to get scared and no danger present? If I can show you that they really believed they were living on a volcano; that war was ready at any moment to break forth; that the mine had been dug and the train laid, and that it only required a torch in the hand of some incendiary to lift us into destruction—if they believed all that, surely the officers of the government might be excused for thinking there was danger. Mr. Bingham tells us that Dodd communicated to him his plan for an uprising in the State, and asked him to call a meeting of the democracy for the 16th of August, in Indianapolis, that under cover of the meeting he might bring his allies of the South to the capital of the State unsuspected. He seems to have been appalled, as far as I can gather from his statement before the Commission, not so much by the horrid wickedness of the thing, as by what seemed to him the small chances of its success. He went to Mr. Joseph E. McDonald and told him what he had heard from Dodd, and after Mr. McDonald had listened to his story, they concluded to sleep over it, and think about it. They did not want to act hastily, and involve those who were their personal friends in peril by any premature revelation; but as Mr. Bingham came away from the office of McDonald he met Hon. M. C. Kerr on the street, who was bustling along much excited, and then a colloquy took place. Says Mr. Bingham, "Hallo, Kerr, what brought you here?" He says Mr. Kerr seemed very much excited. I repeat now that Michael C. Kerr is a man not readily alarmed. Is he not rather always looking out for perils to the people from the government? Was he not always apprehensive that the government would do something strong and decisive to quench the rebellion? Mr. Kerr said, "Do you know anything?" Said Mr. Bingham, "Do you know anything?" "Yes, I do." "What is it?" said he. "The devil is to pay in our section of the State." The devil would have been to pay, too, if this thing had progressed a little further. Mr. Kerr told him the people of Washington, Harrison, and Floyd counties, and all that section, were under impression that

a revolution was impending. How did they get the impression? Who had told them of it? General Carrington? Have you doubt as to how it came? "He (Kerr) told me," continues Bingham, "that the farmers down there were frightened, and that they were selling their hay in the field, and their wheat in the stack, and that property of every kind was being converted into greenbacks." That was the statement of a member of Congress from the New Albany district—a man not much alarmed, at least, when he heard of rebel successes in the South. Be it said that it is part of the public history of this State, that there were men in it to declare openly in public conventions, that the news of Union victories brought them no joy, and the news of a Union defeat no sorrow. But this interview with Mr. Kerr goes further. Mr. Bingham took Mr. Kerr to Mr. McDonald, and had him tell the same story. Calling the latter gentleman out of bed at night, as I understand the account, Mr. Bingham says, "We got him up," meaning Mr. McDonald, "and I said to him, Kerr has got some important information, and I want him to tell you the story just as he has told it to me." Then and there it was concluded that the thing must be stopped, and they called a meeting of leading Democrats at Mr. McDonald's office, at which Dodd and Walker were present, and Kerr made a speech. It is to be added now that Mr. Heffren testifies that Michael C. Kerr was a member of the order; and perhaps it was as true of him as it is of many other men, that, contemplating danger afar off, he felt brave to meet it. They determined at that meeting that the matter should be stopped, and all the influence of those gentlemen, Mr. McDonald, Mr. Kerr, and others named as having been present, was brought to bear, according to Mr. Bingham's statement, to induce an abandonment of the revolution. That is to say, it required the combined influence of those Democratic leaders to compel Dodd, Milligan, Walker and Bowles to give up the proposed insurrection. These men who seemed for a time hovering around the outskirts of the order, now that they stood on the brink of the gulf of death, desolation, and

revolution, drew back in terror. Was there peril? Were not General Hovey and General Carrington authorized to believe that there was peril to the State? If McDonald and Kerr believed the danger imminent, what should the military commander do who is no half-way friend of his government? What should he do? Allow considerations of personal liberty to stand in the way of action? Gentlemen, if General Hovey had failed to lay the strong hand of military power upon the traitors he would have been recreant to his oath. When advised of such schemes our officials are not to await their full development. The nation, as the individual, through its officers, has the right to strike before it is struck. It is a right given from God. If a man is threatening my life, his hand lifted with the dagger to strike me to the heart, I am not to wait until the blow is delivered. The law acquits me if I strike him dead at my feet. How much more shall these defendants stand acquit before the courts and their fellow-men, who, seeing the deadliness of the peril, struck the treason before it could strike the nation?

I think I have shown you now, not merely that there was peril, but that, from the information he had, General Hovey was justified in arresting Milligan, and bringing him to trial before the Military Commission. If the State had broken out in rebellion and insurrection, and your own homes been invaded by these ruthless men, your families outraged, insulted and slain, could you have ever forgiven the recreant commander of the department, who, apprised of the danger, failed to interpose his military power?

Senator Hendricks will have a great deal to say to you about the security which the Constitution guarantees to life, person and property. It is indeed a grand birthright that our fathers have given us; but, gentlemen, it was a legacy handed down to the loyal and the law-abiding. The law covers with its broad and impenetrable shield the true-hearted citizen, not the traitor and the law-breaker. Yet the gentleman comes to make appeals from a Constitution which his client would have destroyed, and in behalf of a liberty which would have

been exercised for the destruction of our government. He complains of a restraint which was in the interests of public peace. Listen to him then, give your full accord to all he may say of the right of the citizen to be secure in person and property, but remember—those guarantees are to the loyal and the law-abiding.

Much was said in the opening argument about military arrests. The Sons of Liberty were dreadfully moved when the government laid its hand upon Vallandigham, the Ohio traitor, who, by his pernicious teachings, held back from the army thousands of young men—that man, who alone was a greater impediment to our success in the war, a more formidable opposition, than the best brigade in the rebel army.

Gentlemen, were any of you troubled by the military? Were any of you arrested? Of course, in times of war, there are always instances of recklessness, and hardship, and sometimes there is much done by soldiery that men condemn. But why were none of you restrained of your liberties during the war? Simply because you made it known by your walk and conversation that you loved your country, and that your heart beat responsive to the music of the Union. This brought you in full sympathy with the army of the Union and its commanders, and as you helped them they helped you. On the other hand, who were they that felt the strength of military power? Only those men who went forth in acts of hostility to the Union. It was a common thing for the rebels to clothe themselves in the garb of our soldiers, the better to destroy them with perfidious fire. Just so this man wraps the provision of the Constitution around him that he may steal forth in due time to his work of death. We never can be proud enough of the security we enjoy, but let us never forget that it was not made and given to us for the protection of the traitors.

I submit to you then, gentlemen, whether the arrest of the plaintiff was not justifiable. I submit to you whether General Hovey would not have been untrue to himself, to the duties of the hour, and to his country, untrue to you, for that matter, if he had done otherwise than he

did? I think you must find that the plaintiff's arrest was in the interest of public peace; that Milligan brought his troubles upon himself by his crimes against the law. The arrest of these conspirators was the promptest and best step that could have been taken for the suppression of the conspiracy. There were thousands of men brought into the vestibule of the order, and, inflamed by speeches, kept ready to rush together and make common cause when the time for action should come. Oh, the horrid guilt of the leaders who taught these political heresies, and corrupted the young men of the country by such sentiments!

. . . . . .

Gentlemen of the Jury: If his Honor says to you that this question of the existence of war in the State is one for you, I ask you to take the definition of war given by Mr. Hendricks, and tell me on oath whether, in the summer of 1864, there was not a conflict of organized forces in the State of Indiana—whether General Hovey, with home forces, and the few veterans who were at home, were not arrayed upon the one hand, and if upon the other, Bowles and Milligan and Horsey, with their secret legions of armed traitors, were not organized into an army, within the State, for the destruction of our government. There was not more truly a state of war in Charleston harbor before the gun was fired that hurled the first shot against Sumter, than existed in the State of Indiana at the time of which I have been speaking.

. . . . . .

Gentlemen of the Jury: Mr. Hendricks has complained that we have been trying to inflame your minds. I submit to you and him, if he will judge it candidly, whether the inflammation, if there has been any in the case, has not had its origin in the facts themselves, rather than in appeals of counsel. If you have felt your hearts kindled with an honest indignation, what did it except the simple narration of the facts? Would my friend have a citizen of Indiana sit by and hear stolidly this story of dark plottings against the public peace? Who can hear with-

out wrath of the destruction of our property, to be brought about by turning armed rebels loose in our midst? Does the Senator think that men can hear such facts and not be "inflamed?" I pity the heart, I pity the man that can listen to such stories of wrong, conspiracy, and treason, and not find his heart all aglow with honest indignation.

It is true that our courts are set apart from mere political excitement, but not apart from patriotism. It is true that our judges when they put on the white robes of their high office, leave the spotted robes of partisanship behind; but it is not true, and God forbid that it should ever become true, that the judges of this land should put off their loyalty. Who ought to love our Constitution and laws with heart's full allegiance, if not the judges, whose special study they are?

I cannot talk much longer, and I ought not to. The defendants whom I represent claim to have acted throughout this transaction for the public welfare, and in perfect good faith. General Hovey, when he issued the order for the plaintiff's arrest, felt that he could no more stay his hand than he could, with honor, have held back against an order to charge upon the foe. He could not have felt more recreant to the duties of his office if he had turned his back and fled when his comrades charged the enemy.

And what less shall be said of the gentlemen who composed the commission that tried the plaintiff? One of them, now the Marshal of this District, maimed for life, drags himself about disfigured by the loss of a left arm. Yonder, on the bloody sides of Kenesaw, he gave an arm, almost a life, for the country which he, and these his comrades, loved so well. While he lay upon the field, bleeding, almost dying, here in Grand Council in the State of Indiana Milligan and his associates were plotting treason; and now they seek to rob him of the little savings from the office which a grateful country, and a President who honors his valor, have conferred upon him, in order to enrich traitors.

Gentlemen, I feel sure that it will not be so. On the

morrow when the booming gun shall salute the rising sun, and tripping maidens come to hang floral offerings upon the head-stones of our dead, may your returning feet vindicate the living.

Speech in Robert S. Robertson vs. The State, on relation of Alonzo G. Smith. In the Supreme Court of Indiana.

The foregoing is the formal title of the suit in the course of which the second argument submitted to the reader was made by General Harrison. More familiarly it is known as the "Lieutenant-Governor's Case," and the speech is selected because it is considered a fair expose of the speaker's capacity to deal with questions of constitutional law, admittedly the highest known to American and English judicature.

An explanation of the circumstances leading up to the case may be serviceable here, as in the presentation of the argument in *Milligan* vs. *Slack and others.*

General Harrison's term as United States Senator from Indiana would expire in 1888, making it the duty of the legislature of 1887 to elect his successor. In 1885 Mr. Voorhees had been chosen Senator by a joint Democratic majority of forty-six, but as that was not thought sufficient to certainly insure the defeat of General Harrison, a new legislative apportionment of the State was resolved upon by the Democrats. The gerrymander that followed may be judged from a statement of Mr. Voorhees to Senator Camden,

of West Virginia, to the effect, as reported, that he would feel personally disgraced if the Indiana legislature did not have a joint Democratic majority of at least sixty.

The first election under the gerrymander was a great surprise to all parties. The Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Robert S. Robertson, was chosen by a majority of 3,323; while, following the returns, the joint convention for the election of United States Senator would stand 71 Republican, 75 Democratic, and 4 Labor votes.

This unexpected turn of events drove the Democratic managers to new resorts. When their scheme was finally evolved, it was of first importance that Mr. Robertson should not be permitted to preside over the deliberations of the Senate, the constitution of the State to the contrary notwithstanding. In furtherance of the scheme, Mahlon D. Manson, Lieutenant-Governor at the time of the election, and entitled as such until his successor would qualify, which could only take place after the election returns were counted by the legislature in joint convention, was induced to resign and accept a revenue collectorship. This vacation of Manson's office would, it was contended, throw the presidency of the Senate into the hands of Alonzo G. Smith, Senator from Jennings county, who happened at the time of the dissolution of the preceding legislature to have

been president *pro tem.* To make the claim plausible as well as effective, the Democratic conspirators determined to go the full length of seating Mr. Smith as Lieutenant-Governor, and bearing him through. The control of the Senate thus secured would enable the Democrats to hold the Senatorial succession in secure grip, provided Mr. Smith proved himself equal to the occasion.

Looking the ground over in anticipation, it was foreseen that the battle might have to be fought in the Senate chamber or in the State courts, or in both at the same time. If it took the shape of a legal controversy, the revolutionists felt safe —the Supreme Court was largely Democratic; if confined to the Senate chambers, Mr. Smith could be relied upon to take care of himself; should there be resort to force, the Democratic Governor (Gray) would exercise his prerogatives as commander-in-chief of the militia.

Fortunately there was no call to arms.

How Mr. Smith, upon seizing the chair, took care of himself may be inferred from the following sample of the proceedings in the first day of the session:

Senator Smith, of Jennings, at ten o'clock said: The Senate of the Fifty-fifth General Assembly will now come to order. Senators and Senators-elect will take their seats. The Senators are requested to keep order.

Mr. Winter—I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The Chair—There is nothing that can be brought before this body. It is not organized. Your point of order cannot be received or determined. [Using the gavel.]

Mr. Winter—My point of order is that we should proceed with the organization of the Senate according to law.

The Chair—Your point of order is out of order. [Hammering with the gavel nervously.]

Mr. Winter—I appeal from the decision of the chair.

The Chair—Your appeal is out of order, and will not be entertained. [Pounding away on the desk with the gavel.]

Mr. Johnson—I second the motion for an appeal, and desire to give notice that I will file a protest with the Senator from Marion [Mr. Winter].

Mr. Winter—Then I rise to a question of privilege.

The Chair—Your question of privilege is out of order. [Using the gavel.]

Mr. Winter—To raise a question of privilege is a right possessed by every Senator upon the floor.

The Chair—When an organization is perfected perhaps you are right.

Mr. Winter—As a Senator on the floor of this Senate, possessed of privileges guaranteed by the Constitution of the State, I protest against the act of the person assuming to act as President *pro tem.* of the Senate as a thing improper, uncalled for, and without the expressed will of the Senate. [The Chair continued to pound the desk with the gavel.] I shall reduce my protest to writing.

The Chair [hammering with the gavel]—Take your seat.

Mr. Johnson addressed the Chair.

The Chair—I don't recognize you, sir. The first thing in order is a prayer by Bishop Knickerbocker.

Mr. Winter—I protest against your discharging the duties of the Lieutenant-Governor in the organization of this Senate.

The Chair [hammering away]—The Senate will rise while we have prayer.

Mr. Winter—I appeal to the Senate as against this person who is assuming the duties of a Lieutenant-Governor.

The Chair [still using the gavel]—Order while prayer is being offered.

Mr. Winter continued speaking after the Bishop had commenced his prayer. When the prayer was finished the Chair said: "The Auditor of State will call the roll of Senators holding over. Mr. Rice, call the roll." This was done, and then the Chair said: "The Auditor of State will now call the roll of Senators-elect." Auditor Rice proceeded with the call, but when he called the county of Wayne Mr. Johnson said: "Recognizing the Auditor of State as such—" [Here his voice was drowned by the gavel.]

The Chair—The Auditor will call thirteen of the Senators-elect as their names appear upon the roll, and they will present themselves at the bar of the Senate and be sworn in by a judge of the Supreme Court.

These, with the remaining Senators-elect, were sworn in.

Mr. Winter—I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman. My point of order now goes to the organization of the Senate.

The Chair—The Senator is out of order for two reasons—he addresses the President of the Senate as "Mr. Chairman," and this Senate cannot entertain a point of order until its organization is perfected.

Mr. Winter—I desire to state my point of order.

The Chair—You may state it, sir.

Mr. Winter—My point of order is that there are present but twenty-four members of the last Senate. The organization of this Senate is now in control of this Senate itself, and I move that the Senate proceed to the election of a President *pro tempore*—the Lieutenant-Governor not being in attendance.

The Chair—Your point of order and your resolution are out of order.

Mr. Winter—I appeal to the judgment of the Senate.

The Chair—Your appeal is out of order. You will take your seat.

Mr. Winter—I desire to rise to a question of privilege.

The Chair—I say to the Senator, with all due respect to him, that he is out of order. You will take your seat.

Mr. Winter—I desire to have my protest entered on the journals of the Senate.

The Chair—You take your seat. [Using the gavel vigorously.] Take your seat, now. The first thing in order is the election of a principal Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. Johnson—I desire to suggest that the first thing in order is the election of a President *pro tem.* of the Senate.

The Chair—I desire to suggest that you take your seat, sir [laughter] and keep it. The first thing in order is the election of a principal Secretary. Nominations are now in order.

Webster Dixon, of Bartholomew county, was nominated from the Democratic side, when Mr. Sellers said: "There being no other nomination, I move that Webster Dixon be declared elected Secretary of the Senate."

Mr. Winter—I desire to state a point of order.

The Chair—The Auditor will call the roll upon the election of principal Secretary.

Mr. Winter—My point of order is—

The Chair [using the gavel]—Take your seat. [To the Auditor:] Call the roll. Those not answering will be marked present and not voting, if they are present.

The usurpation was more conspicuous on account of the presence of the Auditor of State, upon whom, by constitutional provision, the duty of presiding over the Senate during its organization is devolved.

The Senate chamber was of course in possession of men employed by Mr. Smith to defend him to the last extremity. In one instance a refractory Republican was thrown from his chair

to the floor by the serjeant-at-arms. At length Lieutenant-Governor Robertson, having duly qualified, appeared in person to demand the chair; at a sign from Mr. Smith, a man selected for his strength seized the chosen of the people and flung him off into the crowd. Armed guards held the doors of the chamber during adjournment.

It was not long until Mr. Smith began to hear from public opinion; and, feeling the want of support, he appealed to the courts.

By petition for an injunction against the Secretary of State he sought to enjoin that official from delivering the returns of the election for Lieutenant-Governor to the Speaker of the House; the object being to avoid the counting the votes in joint convention as required by the constitution. The petition was filed in the Marion Circuit Court. Judge Ayer refused the injunction. Appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, and, to the amazement of the revolutionists, the decision below was sustained. The Democratic judges, refusing to prostitute themselves and their office, held, after argument pro and con, that the court had no authority to enjoin the Secretary of State in the case presented. General Harrison did not personally appear in the proceeding.

The Legislature met and the counting of the votes being had, Mr. Robertson was formally proclaimed Lieutenant-Governor. A direct issue

was thus joined between Robertson and Smith. The debate extended to the streets and hotels. The newspapers loaded their columns with red-hot matter, and on both sides there was talk of violence. In this extremity Smith again appealed to law. A *quo warranto* proceeding was begun by him (*State ex rel. Alonzo G. Smith*) on the 12th of January, in the Marion Circuit Court, to settle the title to the office; in other words, to have the court declare which was Lieutenant-Governor, Alonzo G. Smith, President *pro tem.* of the Senate, or Robert S. Robertson, claiming by virtue of a decisive majority of the voters of the State.

Judge Ayer held that the suit was properly brought, and also that the question was determinable by the courts. Thereupon he issued an injunction forbidding Robertson from attempting to preside over the Senate or in any manner exercising the functions of Lieutenant-Governor. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, and heard there with oral argument. Mr. W. H. H. Miller opened in behalf of Robertson, followed by Hon. Jason Brown for Smith; then Mr. Michener, Attorney-General of the State, replied to Brown. Mr. Turpie made the closing speech for Smith, and General Harrison answered him.

It is proper to remark that General Harrison had given the case no attention until the evening before argument was begun; that evening he ran

over the briefs and was ready to speak in the morning.

The Supreme Court, consisting of five judges, four Democrats and one Republican, agreed unanimously that the Marion Circuit Court had no jurisdiction of the person of Mr. Robertson; that the suit was improperly brought in that court; and that the injunction had no foundation in law. Three of the judges, Niblack, Zollars and Elliot, being a majority, held further that the judiciary had no power to determine the questions involved in the proceeding; but that they belonged to the political department alone. The case was therefore reversed and dismissed. Nevertheless Smith maintained his usurpation to the last, and as a result David Turpie was ultimately elected to succeed General Harrison as United States Senator from Indiana.

THE ARGUMENT BY GENERAL HARRISON.

May it please your Honors—The case at bar is, in some of its aspects, one of unusual significance. It takes us away from the consideration of those rules which apply to ordinary contracts between individuals to a study of the philosophy of government. It has other aspects which are quite familiar, which present questions not more difficult and not different from those which this court is in the habit of dealing with in cases involving the most petty amounts of property.

I take it that logically, in the consideration of every case, before a self-respecting tribunal, the question of jurisdiction is first. Whether that question relates to the jurisdiction over the individual who is brought by summons before the court, or to the subject-matter in-

volved, it is a threshold question. It is usurpation for this court, or any court, to give judgment in any case where it has not jurisdiction of the person and of the subject-matter.

I am aware that in certain quarters there has been a degree of restiveness and even an indulgence in brutal criticism because these obvious considerations in a previous case had the recognition of this court, and the court could not be driven over a threshold which was barred against it by the Constitution and the law.

It is an insulting proposition to any court that it shall, for the convenience of any man or any combination of men, enter into the investigation of questions which the law and the Constitution do not submit to its judgment.

We have here, as I have already indicated, first, a question of jurisdiction over the person of the defendant, Robert S. Robertson. He is sued in Marion county, while the record shows that his residence is in Allen county. The first point is, can he be impleaded by any one in the form of action here adopted in any other county than that of his residence?

The learned counsel have had recourse to some suggestions as to what the common law of venue is, and the defense of this jurisdiction seems to rest upon views of the common law. Is venue a matter of the common law in the State of Indiana? Were the diligent counsel able to cite any decision of this court indicating that the common law might be resorted to in the decision of such a question? We have general provisions of our code intended to cover, and actually covering, all classes of actions, and indicating the legislative intention as to the forum in which such actions might be brought.

This action is called in argument quo warranto; our statute calls it "information." It is not called information in the nature of quo warranto, or quo warranto, but simply information. It does not relate exclusively to the case of an intrusion into an office, but embraces several other subjects; it embraces an intrusion into a franchise;

it embraces the case of a corporation assuming to act as such without authority of law; it embraces the case of an escheat of property; it embraces the case of a patent or deed, made by the State, and its annulment; all of these are embraced in the article of our code entitled information. There is nowhere in all of these subdivisions or subjects which may be brought to the attention of the court by information any expressed declaration of a venue. In the case of escheat, and in the case of an action to annul a conveyance or deed there is no suggestion of any. My recollection is that even the terms "in the Circuit Court of the proper county" are not used.

In connection with the subject of the intrusion into an office it is said "the action shall be brought in the Circuit Court of the proper county." The learned counsel say that establishes a venue without reference to any other statute. What is it in this case? They say "that county where the intrusion or the particular act of intrusion complained of occurred." Now, in order to maintain their position they must establish two propositions. First, that this is not a proceeding governed by the general provision of the code fixing the venue of civil actions; secondly, that this special statute itself establishes some venue.

The counsel say: "We do not controvert the proposition that this is a civil action." It seems to me when that admission is made the argument is abandoned, unless it can be shown that some other venue than that described in the section of the code relating to the general subject of venue and the commencement of actions is provided in this special proceeding.

I do not controvert the proposition that if in this article entitled "information" a particular venue was declared it would be controlling of the general statute. But I insist that it is not declared by the words "the Circuit Court of the proper county," because those words open the question, "What is the proper county?" How are we to determine it? "Oh," say these gentlemen, "upon the opinion of the particular court as to what

county in a given case is convenient. So we are remitted to the opinion of the judge as to what is convenient. Instead of being directed to a forum where the relator may know that there is jurisdiction, he must either himself decide the question of convenience or take in advance the opinion of the court. If your Honors please, in all these classes of special proceeding—replevin, attachment, ne exeat, mandate, habeas corpus—in every one of them, unless a venue is particularly described in the special proceeding, this court, whenever the question has been brought to its attention, has determined it by reference to the general statute upon the subject of venue.

The learned counsel said, this morning, there was no declaration of a venue in the article relating to habeas corpus, but that it was brought upon this principle of convenience in the county where the party was restrained of his liberty. It must have been an inadvertent statement, for the statute on the subject of habeas corpus expressly confers jurisdiction upon the courts of the county where the restraint takes place.

Now let me hastily run through some of these cases. They are all referred to, with one or two exceptions, in this brief which we will submit to the court. The first is a proceeding to disbar under the statute. The statute says that it may be had "in any court of record." And yet, when the subject came to be reviewed by this court it was held that these words must be construed with reference to the other statutes conferring jurisdiction, and that the Criminal Court, though a court of record, unquestionably did not have jurisdiction of this special proceeding.

The next special proceeding in which such a question arose was under the drainage act, a special proceeding in a very strict sense. And in that case the statute provided that the action should be brought "in any court of competent jurisdiction." Are not these words wider than the terms "in the Circuit Court of the proper county?" Do not the last terms contain within themselves the suggestion of a reference to some other statute

fixing the venue of actions? But here it was said: "May be brought in any court of competent jurisdiction," and yet, his Honor, Judge Zollars, construing those words, held that the action must be brought with reference to the general provisions as to venue in actions relating to real property.

Again, there is no special provision in the article entitled "mandate" as to venue; and we have a case in which this argument, drawn from a supposed convenience, was disposed of by this court. If the argument of convenience, which Judge Turpie so much pressed, has any force, has it not equal, if not greater, force in the case of mandate, where the act—the official act—which the party declines to do, must be done in a particular locality? He says convenience must control where an official act has been done that amounts to intrusion into an office, and the court is asked to restrain it; but, in case of the refusal to do a particular official act which must be done in a given locality, would not the argument be stronger that, as the act was to be done in a particular county, the action would lie in the courts of that county? And yet, if your Honors please, we have a case in which, notwithstanding the argument of convenience, this court has remitted the party to the courts of the county where the defendant resided.

The case of *The State* vs. *The Whitewater Canal Company*, in 8th Indiana, is the case I refer to. It was a mandate to compel the rebuilding of a bridge in Dearborn county. The refusal to discharge the official duty was there. And yet this court held, notwithstanding it might be convenient that the courts of Dearborn county should supervise the execution of this corporate duty, that the action must be brought in the county where the corporation had its office. The court say:

"It is assumed that this action is local in its nature and must be brought in the county where the duty sought to be enforced is to be performed."

Precisely as the gentlemen say here, it must be brought in the county where the intrusion into the office has occurred, and yet the court said the code points out and

defines the subject-matter of the actions which must be instituted in the county in which the subject of the action or some part thereof is situated, but the case at bar is not within the definition, and, therefore, it was held that there was no jurisdiction in Dearborn county.

Let us take the action of replevin, another special proceeding. In the case of *Hodson* vs. *Warner*, in 60th Indiana, Judge Worden, speaking for the court, says:

"It is claimed that an action of replevin is local, and must be brought in the county where the property is detained, and that unless the complaint shows the detention to have been in the county where the action is brought, the court will have no jurisdiction of the subject thereof."

Here, again, the argument of convenience might be made. The property is here detained. It will be convenient if the venue and determination of the case is here. But the court say:

"Authorities are cited to show that, at common law, the action of replevin was local."

Just the suggestion we had from the learned gentleman this morning.

"But this is a matter which is regulated by our statute. The statute provides"—and this statute referred to is the general statute on the subject of venue, not any special statute in this special proceeding—"the statute provides that certain actions shall be brought in the county where the subject thereof is situate or where the cause thereof arose, but the action of replevin is not mentioned or thus localized."

Then it is provided in Section 33 that "in all other cases the action shall be commenced in the county where the defendants, or one of them, has his usual place of residence."

So it was then held, notwithstanding the reference to the common-law rule as to venue in replevin, notwithstanding the suggestion as to the convenience in such case, that replevin, special proceeding as it is, is governed by the general statute upon the subject of venue.

So, again, with proceedings in bastardy, in the case of *Haley* vs. *The State*, 69th Indiana. Section 968 provides that such a proceeding may be commenced before "any justice of the peace" without any limitation as to the county or township in which it is brought. Yet it is held in this case, Judge Niblack delivering the opinion—

"Such proceedings being transitory in their character under the code must be commenced in the county in which the defendant resides when he is a resident of the State."

The argument of convenience might well be used here. It may be that the mother resides here. It may be that the putative father may not be found if there is any delay. All of these suggestions as to convenience apply strongly. But the court has not left the venue of these actions to the whim of the judge, but, notwithstanding the inconvenience that may attach, has settled upon general principles regulating them.

Attachment and garnishment I might refer to as other special proceedings, although they may be said to be in some sense ancillary to another action, and venue may be determined by that fact; and yet in such cases the court say the general rule in relation to personal actions is declared by Sec. 312 of the Code. In this section as amended it is provided:

"In all other cases the action shall be commenced in the county where the defendants, or one of them, has his usual place of residence."

It was held that the Wabash Circuit Court had no jurisdiction of a proceeding in garnishment.

Now, if your Honors please, I want to call attention to the case of *The State* vs. *The Board*, in 49th Indiana. This was a case where a statute was passed providing that a certain action to be brought by the Auditor of the State for the failure to properly assess or collect certain taxes might be brought, as the statute said, "in any court in this State." A State officer was to be the plaintiff or relator, and the statute said he might bring the action "in any court of this State." And yet this court, construing those terms, apply those general principles as

to venue of which I have been speaking. They say it could not have been intended by the Legislature that this action brought by Wildman, as auditor, against the Commissioners of Vanderburg county, could be brought in Marion county. Again they go back and take hold of these general provisions of our code as to venue, and they diminish the force of the legislative expression so as to bring it within the control of these general provisions. The court say:

"By the sections of the statute above set out the action therein provided for may be brought in any court of this State. If this language is to receive a literal interpretation it would lead to results that we think were not contemplated by the Legislature."

And then they go on and say that it must be controlled by the general provision as to venue, and hold that the action against the commissioners of Vanderburg county, notwithstanding the statute, must be brought in the county of Vanderburg.

There is another case, if your Honors please, to which I wish to call your attention to show you how strong the tendency and drift in this court has been to subordinate all of these special proceedings to the general rules of practice defined by our code. It is a case in 105 Indiana. This was a divorce case and the question was, if I recollect, whether a change of venue might be allowed. Your honors can see how radical the question is, whether this special proceeding of divorce, a proceeding under the English law in the ecclesiastical courts, is to be treated under our code as a civil action, and the provisions of the code as to changes of venue made applicable. The opinion was by Judge Zollars, and I believe the case cited in the opinion was also decided by the same learned judge. I read a paragraph or two.

"In the recent case of *Powell* vs. *Powell*, 104 Indiana, 18, after a careful examination of the question, it was held that where the procedure is prescribed in the divorce act, that should be pursued and not the civil code; that so far as a procedure is provided in that act, it may be called a special proceeding, and that where it is apparent

that the Legislature intended that certain sections of the civil code should not apply in divorce cases they will not be applied."

Notice the language! "Where it is apparent!" And I ask your Honors to apply it, and tell me what there is in this article establishing the special proceeding by information that makes it apparent that the Legislature intended that those sections of the code relating to venue should not apply.

"It was further held that under the code divorce cases are, in some sense at least, 'civil actions,' and that the rules of pleading and practice provided in the civil code will apply to them, except to the extent that a different procedure may be provided in the divorce act, and to the extent that it may be apparent that the Legislature intended otherwise."

This indicates the drift of the court, as well as the other cases, to bring these special proceedings, so far as may be done without violence to the special statute, under the control of the general statute regulating the practice in our courts.

"As a result of these holdings, it was further held that the above section of the civil code providing for a change from the judge is applicable to divorce cases, and that, upon the filing of the proper affidavit under that section in any case, the change must be granted. We can see no reason why the reasoning and conclusions in that case are not applicable and controlling here. Changes of venue are provided for in order that parties litigant may have fair and impartial trials, and hence the provision for a change from an interested or biased judge, and hence also the provision for a change of venue from the county where one of the parties may have an undue influence over the citizens, or where an odium may attach to one of the parties, or to his cause of action or defense on account of local prejudice."

Now I read again:

"The more rational conclusion would seem to be that the intention was that such cases should be tried in impartial tribunals, and that as no provision is made in the

divorce act for reaching such tribunals by a change of venue, when necessary, the intention was that resort might and should be had to the code of civil procedure. There is nothing in the divorce act to show or indicate an intention on the part of the Legislature that the above section of the code, providing for a change of venue from the county, should not be applicable to a proceeding for a divorce in a proper case, unless it be the fact that no such change is provided for in the act, and that the case must be commenced in the county where the plaintiff resides."

Now, if your Honors please, I use that case to show that in a proceeding in an especial sense special, regulated by a statute having no reference anywhere to these provisions of the code as to change of venue, the rule was established, applicable to all other such proceedings, that the provisions of the general code as to practice not inconsistent with the provision of the special statute should stand; and I venture to say that, without overriding the principles of that case, the conclusion cannot be avoided that in the case of quo warranto or information the general provisions of our statute as to venue must apply. Indeed, in the use of the words "The Circuit Court of the proper county," as I have already said, there is a suggestion of reference to another statute to determine what is the proper county; the Legislature did not need to repeat what had been elsewhere enacted, but adopted it by these words of reference.

If your Honors please, it is not in a strict sense an information that you have before you. It is an injunction case. To be sure, that is ancillary to a proceeding by information, but the appeal is from an order granting an injunction. Is there any doubt, may it please your Honors, that in the case of an injunction the venue is in the county of the defendant's residence? Can there be any doubt about that?

It seems, then, that in their own judgment this article entitled "Information" was not so special, not so complete in itself as prescribing a new and exclusive remedy and all its attendants and circumstances, but that they

might go out and incorporate with it an action of injunction, where the venue, as I have already said, is admittedly and confessedly controlled by the general statutes.

The court has been compelled to adopt this construction in dealing with these special statutes. There was no provision for trial by jury in the quo warranto act. If the courts are to treat it as complete, as dealing with the subject fully, and are not to look to other statutes as incorporated; if they are not to treat it as a civil action and give to the trial of such cases all those incidents, privileges and limitations that belong to civil actions, then there is no trial by jury; and yet the court, in a case referred to, decided that a trial by jury was allowable because it was a civil action, and the trial by jury in civil actions is guaranteed by the constitution. Here we have, then, a civil action, special if you choose to call it, without any definition as to what the venue shall be, and we have a general statute regulating civil actions, declaring, as is admitted, that in a case like this the venue is in Allen county. So I say, your Honors, this is the threshold question. You must step over it or trample it under foot before you can invade the consideration of questions that lie further along in this case. And again, I repeat, whatever source it comes from, whatever needs it is supposed to subserve, it is brutally insulting to say to the Supreme Court of Indiana that they should consider questions and decide the rights of a man over whose person they have no jurisdiction; to say that because he is called here in this information a usurper into an office this high court must usurp functions which have been denied it by the law, in order to cure one usurpation by another.

But, if your Honors please, if it were established that you had acquired jurisdiction over the respondent here, there is still another threshold question to be considered, and that relates to your jurisdiction of the subject-matter of the case. Both these conditions must exist, or any opinion you may deliver upon the questions involved other than these is *obiter*, is intrusive, is, so far as they may fortify any man in a course of action which he has

entered upon, making this high court subservient to uses that were not contemplated by law. What are the jurisdictional questions as to the subject-matter that are presented? I think there are two, if your Honors please, as this case now presents itself. First, have the courts of this State the power, under the Constitution, to try the title to the office of Lieutenant-Governor? Secondly, if that be conceded, have they power, by injunction, to invade the legislative halls, and restrain a co-ordinate department of this government from the exercise of its will and pleasure? Because, if your Honors please, I think this action, in that aspect of it—this injunction restraining Colonel Robertson from presiding over the Senate of Indiana—not at the solicitation of the Senate, not because the Senate has expressed to your Honors any such wish, not because they have appealed to you for protection, but at the suggestion of a man, an individual, that you should issue your writ of injunction and say to the Senate of Indiana—for it is so said whenever you say that Colonel Robertson shall not preside as Lieutenant-Governor—you shall not allow the respondent to preside, you restrain the discretion of the Senate itself. Whenever you say, as this writ says for you—and I must criticise it in respectful terms, much as I resent the idea that any court in the United States can intrude into the legislative halls anywhere in these States, or in our general government, constituted on one model of three co-ordinate departments of government—that a court can intrude into a legislative hall, and declare to the body that a particular person shall not preside over its deliberations, then the effect is most certainly restrictive. But I should discuss these questions in the order in which I have suggested them. Is there jurisdiction in the courts of Indiana to try the title to the office of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor? I say Governor or Lieutenant-Governor because, may it please your Honors, if you have the jurisdiction to try the title to this office claimed by Colonel Robertson, you have the jurisdiction to try the title of Isaac P. Gray as Governor of Indiana. Why do I deny this jurisdiction? Because, if your

Honors please, there is a limit to your jurisdiction. It does not embrace every subject or every person. It is limited in both directions. The Constitution of Indiana provides that the judicial power shall be vested in a Supreme Court, and circuit courts, and other subordinate courts or other courts. I believe the word "subordinate" has been stricken out by the amendment. But if I find in the same Constitution an express grant of judicial power in a given case to another tribunal over a particular question, how are these two grants to be construed? Is not the general grant to be construed as if it had been made explicitly and in the same section subject to the exception which is found elsewhere in the Constitution?

I do not hesitate to declare that without reference to this provision in our Constitution to which I shall presently call attention, if it rested upon the general declaration establishing three co-ordinate, co-equal, and co-sovereign departments of this government, the Supreme Court of Indiana, without a special grant of power in the Constitution, could not determine the question in the case of a contest as to who was or who was not the Governor of Indiana. And why, if your Honors please? The very idea of co-ordination, the very essence and principle of sovereignty, is gone whenever this court may say a man is or is not Governor of Indiana, and he shall be enjoined from exercising executive functions. Oh, but say the learned counsel, the court doesn't act on the executive department; it acts on the person. Wise distinction! Worthy of that subtle refinement of intellect for which my friend Judge Turpie is so conspicuous. To be sure it matters little if this court act upon Isaac P. Gray as an individual, and expels him from the office of Governor; the result is the same precisely as if they had acted upon the executive department. They have created a vacancy, or, at their own sweet will, have installed another in his place. If your Honors please, that tribunal anywhere that can expel the chief executive and put another in his place dominates the executive department. I suppose my friend would say that if I should seize upon some one of the judges who are so kindly attending to what I am

saying, and pitch him out of the window, that I would be dealing with the person simply, not with the court, and yet the distinction would be one that I think neither the judge that went out of the window nor the four that remained here would appreciate.

No, sir, the doctrine that the courts—and, if your Honors please, it is not simply this august tribunal, but the Marion Circuit Court or the Posey Circuit Court—may expel or install the chief executive of Indiana is not to be admitted.

Now there is, I think, a misconception, and I thought that in some of the questions propounded by the judges this misconception was very apparent. We are so much in the habit of thinking and saying that the courts are to settle all disputes of every sort, and this court is so much in the habit of regarding itself as the Supreme Appellate Court of the State of Indiana, having jurisdiction of all questions, that you have not considered the questions which are seldom presented to us, as to the limits of your power. And so, popularly, we say, whenever any question arises, "Take it to the Supreme Court. Let us have their opinion about it." The courts themselves, I may say, without any disrespect, have come to regard their functions to be that of the mother hen—to cover everything that is in alarm or dispute.

No one rejoices more than I, if your Honors please, that those questions of personal right, which were once left to the arbitrament of force, may be now confided to the peaceful adjudication of courts. But it is quite another question whether the Supreme Court of this State, or of the United States, can make and unmake the chief executive.

It was suggested, in case a usurper entered into the office of Governor Gray, and expelled him and got possession of the great seal, whether this court could not turn that usurper out. Why, if your Honors please, the Constitution of Indiana has not left the chief executive to that ready and willing, and, I have no doubt, wise help which you would render him by sending your sheriff to his rescue. It has constituted him a co-ordinate, self-contained, self-defended branch of the government of the

State of Indiana. It has put at his disposal the army and the navy of the State. He does not need to appeal, in the defense of his prerogative, when, by the formalities of the Constitution, he has been inducted into the office, to the sheriff of any court. So your sheriff is for your protection. He has a right to call upon the body of the community to preserve your dignity, to repress intrusion, and to punish contempts. But the executive—and may I not suggest the Legislature of this State—is clothed in its own right with ample powers of self-protection. I do not think that the Legislature, or either branch of it, could allow any executive or administrative officer of any court to intrude into its precincts with any writ. It has the power to hedge itself around, and to lay the duty upon the men who serve it to protect it.

So it is, if your Honors please, that we are seldom—and it is well so—brought to confront these fundamental principles of government, and of the limitations of the power of the several departments which are involved here.

Justice Mitchell—In the event, General Harrison, that the Senate should undertake to repel the intrusion of Colonel Robertson and imprison him for contempt, would the court have no power to interfere?

Senator Harrison—Very clearly not, if your Honors please; no more than the Legislature would have the right to interfere if you should imprison him here for a contempt of your court; not a whit more.

Justice Mitchell—Have we not a recent eminent example where the Supreme Court of the United States took an individual out of the hands of Congress and imprisoned him?

Senator Harrison—Yes, sir, undoubtedly; undoubtedly, under a writ of habeas corpus, you might consider whether the man was lawfully restrained. That I do not deny.

Justice Mitchell—Then we would have to inquire whether or not he would have the right to go there and offer to preside?

Senator Harrison—No, sir; not that at all. You

could not decide the question of his right to preside, or enforce such a judgment, but you might, perhaps, decide, as in that case, that the man must be discharged upon habeas corpus. That was a case of an examination before a committee of the body, and the decision was as to whether they might or might not imprison him for a refusal to answer certain questions. But let me ask your Honor a question, not, of course, for answer; and I desire to say it gives me great pleasure at any time to have any suggestion from any member of the court if there is any point that I am discussing upon which, in the opinion of the court, any judge would desire to have me express myself more fully.

Justice Mitchell—I only wanted to draw out your idea, because I feel the force of your suggestions. If they were of no consequence, I would not have asked the question.

Senator Harrison—I cannot believe that this court can send into the Senate of Indiana any writ. I do not say there might not questions arise as to the Governor, collateral in some actions, that this court may pass upon; but what I do hold is that, when conformable to the constitution, the Legislature—the political department of this government—have recognized a man as President or Governor, the court may not inquire whether he is such or not.

Justice Zollars—Allow me to put a question. I believe it was put the other day, and answered that it was not a supposable case. But now, suppose the Legislature should count the votes for a man and declare him to be Governor at this time, and there came a conflict between him and the incumbent, is there any remedy for that conflict through the courts at all?

Senator Harrison—None whatever, if your Honors please. That is very apparent. Into such condition as that the courts cannot enter. You may try questions of assault and battery or of treason growing out of the conflict, but not the title of the claimants to the office.

Justice Zollars—That is your idea?

Senator Harrison—That is my idea. If the courts

could control matters of that kind we would have had no rebellion. I do not say that there may not be cases where your Honors could punish an individual, where you could try and condemn and execute him for treason. Certainly, there might be such cases. But I do hold this: that where the Legislature has, according to the forms of the Constitution, canvassed the vote for Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, and has declared a person to be Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, and has recognized him as such, then this court cannot dispossess him of his office.

Justice Mitchell—Now, right there. Of course, we may not be able to dispossess him, but can the court pronounce upon the legal question involved? Is not the question of the right to an office a judicial question? That is an idea that I wish to have elaborated.

Senator Harrison—If your Honors please, as I was saying, it seems to me that the constitution of these three departments of itself, without anything else—although I will show your Honors there is much else—necessarily prohibits that. Has any one ever questioned that the Supreme Court of the United States could not have passed upon whether Hayes or Tilden was elected President? Did any good lawyer suggest that it might?

Justice Zollars—That was another question. In that case there was no question about there having been an election at the proper time.

Senator Harrison—Ah, if your Honor pleases, that is too fine a discrimination. When they were or were not elected does not test the limits of the power of a court. The test is, may they approach the question at all directly? If they may approach it at all in such a case, then they may decide it upon the question that the time for a proper election had not arrived, or that one man may get more votes than another. The Constitution of the United States simply provides that the returns from the electoral colleges shall be opened by the Vice-President in the presence of the two houses, and they shall be counted. That is all. And yet it was agreed, in the

face of the great exigency that we confronted then, an exigency that seemed likely at one time to involve bloodshed, that, great as the courts were, wise and ample as are the powers confided to them, there was no relief in the courts of the United States. It was a political question. It might involve war, but the courts could not solve the trouble.

Justice Zollars—That is not the question that is troubling Judge Mitchell and myself, as indicated by our questions. The difficulty, in my mind, is back of all that. Nobody has ever contended that the court might have power to settle the question as to who was elected, but back of that is the constitutional question, the legal question, as to whether or not there may be an election. That is the question that I wish to hear discussed now. Whether the decision of that question is exclusively with the Legislature.

Senator Harrison—In the very nature of things it must be so, or else their power over the subject is limited. I take it, if your Honors please, that the counsel have quibbled with the provision of our Constitution, which re-enforces this general idea I have been advocating, that it does not matter one whit whether somebody raises the question whether the election was to take place at a particular time; if the decision of the political question as to who is Governor, and when he became Governor, rests with the Legislature, then no phase of it is reserved to the courts for determination. If your Honors please, the reason for all this is very obvious. The Constitution and the law were very careful to place the court where it might never become the subject of ridicule; very careful never to confide to it powers that it could not execute. There are certain questions of this kind upon which the judgment of courts must be futile. In the very nature of things the Legislature stands so related to this question that it was wisely, by our Constitution, invested with the decision of the whole matter, and not a fragment of it.

I have said that the Constitution makes a special grant of power over this subject to the Legislature—

"Contested elections for Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined by the General Assembly in such manner as may be prescribed by law."

Now, if your Honors please, I want to say a word about the manner in which this court ought to approach the construction and consideration of that article of the Constitution, and of the others to which I shall allude presently. My learned friend says the Constitution is to be strictly construed because it is a grant of power from the people. But the question here is not one of limiting a power; it is a question whether this court will assume it or leave it where the Constitution has placed it. It is not a question of the excess, or extent, or enlargement of this section at all. It is a question whether the court shall pass upon this section so specific in character, and assume to have jurisdiction under the general clause of the Constitution apportioning the judicial power to the courts. Is there any doubt about what the construction ought to be? When the framers of the Constitution have dealt with the particular question, and said that its decision should be confided to one tribunal, shall the general grant of judicial power be strained to embrace some part of it? Upon this question of the right to elect a Lieutenant-Governor, and I may as well refer to it now, the same principle should be applied. The Constitution is to be strictly construed against the right of the people that made it to elect their own officers! That is the argument of my friend. If there is a strict construction to be applied, it should be in the interest of the people, that something may not be taken to have been granted that the people did not intend to give. But is strict construction to be applied to the question whether they have not reserved the power to themselves to select a Lieutenant-Governor by their own votes? Would not that be a perversion of the doctrine to which my friend alluded, that there should be a strict construction of the Constitution? Now, if your Honors please, with reference to the meaning of this special clause: "Contested elections for Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined"—SHALL be determined—"by the General

Assembly." May I ask your Honors, especially as it is a question of taking jurisdiction yourselves, and denying it to the Legislature, why that question should be approached in a technical spirit?

As my friend, the Attorney-General, who has so ably presented the questions in this case, has said, to contest an election is to deny it. The ground of the denial may be that some one else was elected and not this man, or it may be that there was no election at all, and that some person holding by appointment is entitled to exercise the duties of the office. But in either event the election of Colonel Robertson is denied; it is controverted; it is contested; it is impeached. And how shall this court say that if that honorable man, whom I am glad to say is not here as relator, who was his competitor before the people, had been applying for this writ of mandate impeaching Colonel Robertson's title upon any question, it would have been a contest; but because a person who holds or claims to hold the office under designation by the Senate of Indiana comes here saying, "Though you received the majority of the legal votes of Indiana, you are not elected; I contest your election and claim to exercise the duties of the office myself;" it is not a contest. This court is invited to say, "We will diminish this power, confided by the Constitution to the Legislature, that the political department might deal with that political question, and we will absorb it for the judiciary; we will assume to settle the question whether the Legislature rightly opened and canvassed those votes—whether there was a vacancy." Is it not better, if your Honors please, that the whole question should go to one tribunal or the other, and that we should not engage in any hair-splitting in attempting to divide it? This is the case of a contested election for Lieutenant-Governor. It is the case of an election denied, controverted, challenged. And the Legislature, by express provision of the Constitution, is to deal with it, and, as I have suggested, for a very obvious reason.

In a case in 20th Kansas, page 702, there is a very clear statement of these limitations upon the power of the judiciary:

"Within certain constitutional restrictions the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the State are independent and supreme, and neither has the right to enter upon the exclusive domain of the other. We should pass beyond the limits of our own power to judge of the election or qualifications of a member of the Legislature, and as the Constitution has expressly confided this power to another body, we must leave it where it has been deposited by the fundamental law."

Now, if your Honors please, I do not hesitate to say that, entirely outside and independent of that provision of our Constitution which makes each house of the General Assembly the judge of the election and qualifications of its own members, that would be true, inherently, and without any such constitutional provision at all. "Because if this court might decide who were and who were not members of the Legislature, this court would dominate the Legislature, and if we are at liberty to interfere in this case, or if with the consent of the Legislature even, where the Legislature asked it, we assume jurisdiction, we may review all similar decisions of that body, and in the end bring the legislative power of the State in conflict with the judicial. The objections to such a course are so strong and obvious that all must acknowledge them."

In a case to which the attention of the court has been called, and which I have here before me, 28th Arkansas, this precise question was considered by the supreme judicial tribunal of that State, and under a constitutional provision almost identical with our own. I will read a brief extract from the opinion:

"The argument is pressed here that if the Governor be a usurper, and his seat not contested before the Legislature, the people are governed by a mere trespasser, and, if the Attorney-General cannot sue out *quo warranto*, and this court decide who is elected, there is no remedy, and that rights so dear and rights so sacred to the people can never be thus violated in a just government, and no redress offered. This is but changing the form of the sophism, and is answered by the same solution. The

question is in whom shall so sacred a trust be reposed. If in the Attorney-General and a few judges, and they should not execute it, would not the same result be produced? Shall the Governor of the State, the head of the executive department, be subject to removal by the courts of the State? Shall these departments be co-ordinate, co-equal in strength and dignity, or shall the officers of one have power to remove the incumbent of the other, and thus dictate his policy or hold the executive at his mercy? It seems to be one of the elementary principles of our government that the departments should be co-ordinate and co-equal, and that the courts of the State move forward in the discharge of their duties free from executive policy and beyond executive control. The Governor is clothed with the manhood that places him above the whims, and stronger than any prejudice that could possibly exist in a court, and leaves his position to those who, under the Constitution, are to designate the proper incumbent, and who are to try him for crimes or misdemeanors in office; and all the presumptions of integrity that can and should weigh in favor of a court must be allowed in favor of the representative men of the people."

If it be true that this court—and if it is true, it is true also of the courts of the United States—can, upon some assumption that an election did not take place at the proper time, or, in the case of an election of a President, that the college of electors did not meet at the proper time in any State, or that their vote was not properly recorded—if the courts may, upon the assumption of an Attorney-General, or a rival claimant for the governorship, or the presidency, consider and decide such questions, then, if your Honors please, that principle of checks and balances upon which our National government was formed, and after which our State government is modeled, is completely and forever at an end.

In the case in 4th Wisconsin—and I should say with reference to that case, that there was no such provision in the Constitution as we have here, lodging the counting of the votes and the declaration of the result

and the induction of the Governor into office in the Legislature—the votes were canvassed by a State board of canvassers. It was claimed in that case that Mr. Barstow and his friends had secured a canvass in his favor by the most outrageous and widespread election frauds. I have read with great interest the discussion of the question by Mat Carpenter and counsel. It is full of historical illustrations and of references to the most reputable authors upon constitutional law and governmental philosophy. He may go further in his conclusions than I would go, or this court may follow: but a perusal of the cogent and well-illustrated reasons he gives why the judicial department should not have control of the question who is and who is not Governor, cannot but be useful to any student of the law. After alluding to an objection urged by M. Turgot to our National Constitution, that it undertook to balance these different departments as if the same equilibrium of powers which had been thought necessary to balance the enormous preponderance of royalty could be of any use in a Republican form of government based upon the equality of the citizens, Mr. Carpenter says:

"This objection, if well taken, applies to our National as well as State governments; and to justify the necessity for this division of powers, this balancing and equilibrium of powers, Mr. Adams put forth his defence of the Constitution, which, as a general treatise upon the science of government and a commentary upon our own, is regarded as an authority. What the dreaming, theorizing Frenchman regarded as a blemish, the great American patriot regarded as a crowing excellence. In his preface to that work Mr. Adams says: 'Representations instead of collections of the people; a total separation of the executive from the legislative power, and of the judicial from both; and the balance in the legislature by three independent, equal branches, are, perhaps, the only three discoveries in the Constitution of a free government since the institution of Lycurgus.'"

Mr. Wirt, in a case brought to his attention, and reported in the first opinions of the Attorney-General of

the State, says, on the question submitted to him: "Whether, in any case, an injunction is binding upon the executive department of the government; and second, if so, whether an injunction is binding upon the officers of the treasury—"

"On the first and second questions I am of the opinion that it is not within the power of the judicial branch of our government to enjoin the executive from any duty specially devolved upon it by the legislative branch of the government, or by the Constitution of the United States. If it were otherwise, it would be in the power of the judicial branch of the government to arrest the whole power of the other two branches. My opinion is that the judiciary can no more arrest the executive in the execution of a constitutional law than they can arrest the Legislature itself in passing the law. It would be easy to show that the existence of such a power in the judiciary would place the existence, not only of the government, but of the Nation itself, at the mercy of that body in every crisis, both of war or peace. It is, therefore, in my opinion, essential to the government to assert for the executive this independence of action."

In the celebrated Dorr case, in Rhode Island, the court, in charging the jury, is quoted by Mr. Carpenter as saying:

"Courts take notice without proof offered from the bar what the Constitution is, or was, and who is or was the Governor of their own State. It belongs to the Legislature to exercise this high duty [that of canvassing votes]. It is the Legislature which, in the exercise of its delegated sovereignty, counts the votes and declares whether a Constitution be adopted, or a Governor elected, or not; and we cannot revise nor reverse their acts, in this particular, without usurping their power. Were the votes on the adoption of our present Constitution now offered here, to prove that it was or was not adopted, or those given for the Governor under it, to prove that he was or was not elected, we would not receive the evidence ourselves—we could not permit it to pass to the jury. And why not? Because, if we do

so, we should cease to be a mere judicial, and become a political tribunal, with the whole sovereignty in our hands. Neither the people nor the Legislature would be sovereign. We should be sovereign, or you would be sovereign; and we should deal out to parties litigant, here at our bar, sovereignty to this or that, according to rules or laws of our own making, and heretofore unknown in courts."

It will be noticed that in this case the court said that it belongs to the Legislature to decide whether there was an election. That is precisely the case which has been supposed to take this case out of the provision of the Constitution to which I have just referred, confiding to the Legislature the power to determine who has been elected Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Dorr and his friends had gotten up a government, and they held an election. It was not a question of how many votes Dorr got, or somebody else, but it was distinctly, as here, whether any election could be held. The political department of the State had held that it could not be held, and the court trying him said that was conclusive. And it must be equally conclusive here, when our Legislature, under the forms of the law, or if there was lacking any due form of law it was lacking simply because certain members of one branch of the Legislature, duly notified, as these papers show, by the Speaker, of his purpose to discharge a constitutional duty, refused to attend and discharge theirs, has declared Robertson to have been elected Lieutenant-Governor, and has inducted him into office.

And, if your Honors please, the cases of Collins and of Biddle against Willard do not at all militate against this doctrine. In the case of Collins the Legislature passed a law providing that there should be an Attorney-General who should be elected by the Legislature. Before the Legislature adjourned the Governor assumed to appoint an Attorney-General. I believe our distinguished fellow-citizen, Joseph A. Wright, was then Governor of the State. He first ordered a commission to Isaac Blackford as Attorney-General, and Secretary of

State Collins, upon his direction, issued it. It was put into the mails, addressed to Isaac Blackford, and, after it had been thus addressed, some one, by the direction of the Governor, recovered the commission from the mails and inserted the name of Judge Morrison, erasing the name of Judge Blackford. The question came before the courts, not involving any political power or question, but involving the question simply whether there was a vacancy in the office of Attorney-General that could be filled by the Governor by appointment. And it was held that, because under the law the power was reserved to the Legislature to appoint, it could not be said that they had declined to exercise that power while they yet remained in session. That was all.

The other case, if your Honors please, was not a question of the election of a man to a political office—the Biddle case—but the election of a man to this bench. And this court was passing upon the question of the validity of the election of a man who was sitting here as a member of this court. Is there anything incongruous or contrary to any part of my argument in that suggestion? Upon the other hand, does it not fall in with it that this court is to decide who its own members are?

If your Honors please, suppose the parties to this action were reversed. Sometimes we get a better view of an object by turning it around. Suppose Colonel Robertson were the relator and Green Smith the respondent. Suppose Colonel Robertson had alleged that he was duly elected Lieutenant-Governor; that the vote had been canvassed, and that he had been sworn into office conformably to the Constitution and the laws, and that Green Smith was presiding over the Senate in usurpation of his right to preside there, and that he should have come to your Honors now, and asked for an injunction to restrain Green Smith, who had been chosen by a majority of the Senate to exercise the functions of President of the Senate. Do your Honors think you would have entertained jurisdiction in such a case, or that any court would? That you would assume to say to the Senate

of Indiana who should preside over it, and who should not? Or to the joint convention, assembled conformably to the law of Congress, in the execution of a federal duty, who should or should not preside over it? And yet, just that has been done here, if your Honors please. And that is the second branch of this question of jurisdiction, upon which I shall say a word.

You are asked to sustain an injunction that does not run according to the will of the Senate. The Senate have not invoked your power. Green Smith is the relator. To do so would be to lay the Senate of Indiana at your feet and say to them, "Whatever your view may be; whatever the wish of the majority of your members may be, Robert S. Robertson, at your request even, shall not preside over you." No, if your Honors please, this writ of injunction is *sui generis*. It occupies a pinnacle of absurdity that has never been reached in a judicial proceeding before.

I understood the question to be propounded by one of the judges whether, the Senate refusing to admit Colonel Robertson to his seat, he might not have applied for a writ of mandate. Manifestly not. Certainly that question will not bear consideration. Mandate!

Justice Mitchell—Pardon me; that was not the question I put at all. The question I put was: Suppose that Colonel Robertson, persisting in his right to preside, had been adjudged in contempt by the Senate.

Senator Harrison—I was not alluding to the question propounded by your Honor this afternoon, but to one propounded this morning or yesterday.

Justice Mitchell—I never had such a question as that in my mind, if you refer to me.

Justice Zollars—I do not recollect of asking such a question.

Senator Harrison—If not, if the very suggestion of the proposition meets with a disclaimer on all hands, then does it not show a limitation of power in this court to deal with the subject? You can keep a man from presiding over the Senate. You can, by injunction, restrain him from doing it, but you cannot compel the Senate by

mandate to permit him to do it. One would think these remedies ought to be mutual.

WAS THERE AN ELECTION?

But, if your Honors please, if we can come so far, if these threshold questions may be safely passed, and we can ever reach the question whether there was an election for Lieutenant-Governor, on the 2d day of November last, then I have upon that subject a few words to submit.

And let me say first, that my client here does not come as an impostor; he does not come with the rude and vulgar airs of a usurper, for rudeness and vulgarity are the natural apparel of the usurper. He comes, after having submitted to the intelligent voters of Indiana his character and fitness for this high office. Not one member of this court, I may assume; not one of the learned counsel for the relator; not one probably of this little company that hear me to-day but expressed his choice for or against him. I do not say, at all, that this must be conclusive upon the body endowed, under the Constitution, with the power to try his right to the office; but I do say, may it please your Honors, that, whatever that tribunal is, whether the Legislature or this court, my client comes before it in an attitude to challenge their respect, and backed by a popular sentiment that demands that the questions which are at issue shall have the most careful and deliberate consideration of the tribunal trying them. In a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, constitutions must not be strained to deprive them of the right to choose their own officers. If your Honors please, this is a popular government. Right jealous and careful were the framers of our Constitution to secure to the people the right to select those who were to administer all three of the departments of our State government. Previously, in many places, indeed now, the judiciary of the State had been appointive; but under the present Constitution the people took to themselves the right to choose the members of this high tribunal and every other judicial officer in the State of Indiana.

They especially declared in the Constitution that the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor should be elected by the people. If there is a vacancy in the office, as is admitted, and we are brought to a study of the Constitution as to whether the people, by the ordinary methods pointed out by law, may fill it according to their choice, I say again, we should come to the consideration of that question with a disposition to effectuate, if we can, the popular will. Not that we can do so at the expense of plain provisions of the Constitution, but with a disposition to do so, if a liberal and kindly construction can give to the people this right to choose their own Lieutenant-Governor. I press this upon the court: If the question is doubtful, the doubt should be solved on the side of popular government. I am not indulging in propositions that can be labelled Republican or Democratic; they are principles that all parties and all statesmen at least affect to reverence.

Now, coming to the consideration of our Constitution in such a spirit, and remembering that the chief executive of this State, having called upon its law officer, received from him an opinion that there was a vacancy that should be filled; remembering that in every county of this State the administrative officer, the sheriff, issued his notice to the electors to choose a Lieutenant-Governor; remembering that through all that campaign no man interposed by injunction against a sheriff from publishing such a notice or sought to raise the question until the issue had been fought out at the polls; remembering that all the forms of law have been observed; remembering that a half million of free people of all political parties in this State have expressed their choice in an orderly and honest way at the polls that is unchallenged as a true expression of the popular will; remembering all that, let us come to a consideration of the question whether there is anything in our Constitution that prohibited the people from choosing a Lieutenant-Governor on the 2d day of last November.

If your Honors please, I have here before me the second volume of the constitutional debates. Your

Honors are familiar with the manner in which this book was compiled, and of course know that the Constitution, as it was adopted by sections, as the convention acted upon it, was recast in form and the sections put together in articles, so that the number as mentioned here cannot always be accurately identified in the present compilation. On page 1316 I find it said:

"The section prescribing the manner of electing a Governor and Lieutenant-Governor was read a second time."

"Mr. Kelso [known to many of you] moved to strike out the latter part of the section and insert a provision to the effect that, if it should become necessary to fill a vacancy in the office of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor at any time, when no general election was held, it might be done."

Note the proposition. Not to wait for any general election, but to have a special election to fill those offices if they should become vacant.

"Mr. Morrison, of Marion [known to many of us here, now dead], said he could see no reason for a change in this respect; THE OFFICES WOULD ALL BE FILLED AT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION. Besides such a provision would be inconsistent with another part of the same article."

Evidently referring to that section which provides that the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor shall be elected at the same time with the members of the Legislature. So it seems, if your Honors please, in the debates in the convention that framed the Constitution, this question whether the people should have an election or not to fill a vacancy, was raised, and Mr. Morrison, who, I think, was upon the committee that reported it, delivered his opinion, "The offices would all be filled at the next general election." And now, if your Honors please, a Senator, elected by two counties, confronts the five hundred thousand voters with the proposition that the people of the two counties he represents have a right to select a man to discharge the duties of this high office in disregard of the will of the mass of the people of Indiana.

And there is to be no election, he says. And why not? If your Honors please, there is just one suggestion, and only one, found in the Constitution or statute against it, and that is the declaration that the term of office of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor shall begin on a particular day. That, and nothing else, raises a doubt on this question. We are met here with the remarkable theory that the framers of our Constitution, instead of contemplating an election to fill these vacancies at the next general election, as Mr. Morrison says, absolutely contemplated a condition of things in which, if the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor-elect died before their inauguration, or immediately afterwards, the power of the people to designate their successors was to be in restraint for four full years! And that is where we are left! This is the argument that comes from my Democratic friend! That this Constitution was meant to say that for four full years a man, the choice of a single county, elected not to exercise the duties of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, but those of a Senator alone, must be the chief executive of the State of Indiana! Can we, being part of a government so thoroughly popular as the government of our State is, come to such a conclusion unless a compulsion of steel bands and rivets is upon our opinion? Shall we adopt such a conclusion? Are we thus hedged in? No. If we simply construe that section to apply to the full and regular terms of the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor; if we simply say that the people meant that there should be these periods marked and defined in the regular terms, and that they were not intended to be restrictive of the power of the people to fill a vacancy by election, then all is clear. Our government goes on in an orderly way. Its popular control and character are recognized. The men administer these offices whom the people choose. Put that construction upon it, and all doubt vanishes away.

Justice Zollars—Would your idea be that if the Governor should die there should be an election?

Senator Harrison—I have no doubt of the power to have such election, though I think the argument is stronger in case of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Justice Zollars—Then our practice has been wrong.

Senator Harrison—I know the practice has been that the Lieutenant-Governor succeeds to the office; that he is continued in the succession; that the Lieutenant-Governor discharges those duties. But that is a very different question from this, because, I say to your Honors, and say it advisedly, there is no one designated to discharge the duties of Lieutenant-Governor in case of a vacancy in that office, and we meet under this construction of the Constitution, this anomaly: That we have this one office that may become vacant by death or resignation, the duties of which are devolved upon no one; neither is there a provision for electing his successor. I know—

Justice Mitchell—Is it not the fact that in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor the duties are devolved upon the President of the Senate?

Senator Harrison—I would be very glad if your Honor would show me where that is said. Admitting that the Senate may elect a president *pro tempore* who presides over the Senate, and of course discharges, so far as he presides, the same duty that the Lieutenant-Governor would if he presided, but where is the provision in the Constitution or the law that invests him with any other function of the office of Lieutenant-Governor?

Justice Mitchell—I might answer that there is no provision in the Constitution or law which invests the Lieutenant-Governor with any other function. That is the whole statement of the function of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Senator Harrison—Does not the Constitution especially provide or permit that other duties may be devolved upon him by law?

Justice Mitchell—I am not aware that it does.

Senator Harrison—Then how is it that he is made a member of the Board of Equalization?

Justice Mitchell—They might have made the sheriff of Marion county a member of the Board of Equalization just as well as the Lieutenant-Governor.

Senator Harrison—Then duties defined by law may be added to the office, and yet there is no provision for a

successor if the Lieutenant-Governor dies, nor are his duties assigned to any one else?

Justice Mitchell—That depends on whether I have rightly interpreted that section, namely: That all the constitutional duty of the Lieutenant-Governor, all the constitutional duty that he has to perform is to preside over the Senate; and when the Constitution provides that in the event of the death or absence of the Lieutenant-Governor the president *pro tempore* shall do that, then all his constitutional duties are filled and provided for.

Senator Harrison—"Whenever the Lieutenant-Governor shall act as Governor, or shall be unable to attend as President of the Senate, the Senate shall elect one of its own members as president for the occasion." That is what is said; but if your Honors please, there are other duties devolved by law rightly, not contrary to the Constitution, but rightly upon the Lieutenant-Governor.

Justice Mitchell—I agree with that. I do not want to interrupt you; but I have thought very seriously over the proposition you are discussing, and I only wish to give you the idea so as to draw out yours in return. The only constitutional duty which I have been able to find devolved upon the Lieutenant-Governor was that of presiding over the Senate, and of being in expectancy to discharge the duties of Governor in case of the death or resignation of the Governor. Now, when the Constitution also provides that in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor those same duties shall be devolved upon another, then the question comes to my mind, don't that fill the office, and can it be said that there is a vacancy in the office?

Senator Harrison—If your Honors please, it seems to me that is very far short of being conclusive logic—with all due respect.

Judge Mitchell—I want to hear your logic.

Senator Harrison—If it was provided that in case of the death or inability to attend of the clerk of the court, that the duties of the clerk of the court should thereupon devolve upon the auditor "for the occasion," I think that would hardly be conclusive that we were not to elect a clerk at the first chance.

But suppose it to be true, then, if your Honors please, that upon the death of the Lieutenant-Governor the duties are devolved on some one else—

Justice Zollars—Judge Mitchell's position is, all the constitutional duties.

Senator Harrison—I do not care whether it is all his duties, as defined by the Constitution, or all the duties, which, under the Constitution, the Legislature has rightly devolved upon him. Keeping in mind the qualifying words of the Constitution—"for the occasion"—is it not a very forced conclusion that his successor is to discharge those duties for four years, and that the vacancy in the office of Lieutenant-Governor may not be filled? So far from an idea of permanence, does not the very grant of authority to elect this man "for the occasion" imply a limited and temporary discharge of the duties? If the intention were otherwise, would not the Constitution have said that the successor should discharge the duties until the expiration of the term, or until the vacancy is filled, instead of using such transitory, temporary words of sufferance?

Mr. Brown—May I ask you on that—Ought not the courts to follow the construction put upon the words "for the occasion" that the Legislature had put upon those words?

Senator Harrison—What is that construction? That put on them by Mr. Smith?

Mr. Brown—No, sir; I mean the construction that has been universally put upon those words by the Legislature.

Senator Harrison—What is that?

Mr. Brown—That has been this, as I remember it, that the Senate would elect a President, and in all cases of absence for any cause thereafter of the Lieutenant-Governor, the person so elected should discharge the duties of the office in so far as presiding over the Senate is concerned.

Senator Harrison—That may be; but still it simply enlarges the "occasion" from that of a day to a week; it still does not add any idea of permanence; none what-

ever; and, if your Honors please, the idea of permanence is expressly excluded by the fact that the Senate of Indiana is not a continuing body. Suppose, instead of being a hold-over Senator, Mr. Green Smith's term had expired with the last Legislature. Where is your President *pro tempore?* The office necessarily ends with the adjournment of the Legislature. It was an assumption, in my mind an assumption that I cannot fitly characterize here, that the fact that he had been elected at a previous General Assembly made him the presiding officer of the present Senate, in which there were only twenty-four men who voted for him. It is only because the Senate of the United States is held to be a continuing body by reason of an expressed rule that the President *pro tempore* holds continuously; and, unlike the Speaker of the House, does not terminate his official existence with the Congress. I say that qualification does not inhere in the Senate of Indiana; it is not a continuing body. And when it elects a President, a President *pro tempore*, for the occasion, his power cannot run into the organization of a new Legislature.

Mr. Brown—Have you forgotten, General, that the bill avers that General Manson resigned some time in August last, that Smith was elected by the present Senate of Indiana on the 6th day of January, and that all these averred causes of information are subsequent to that date?

Senator Harrison—I have not forgotten, if your Honors please, those most extraordinary double-action allegations in this petition. That this Senate recognized Mr. Smith as being already President *pro tempore*, and by the same resolution elected him to be such. [Laughter.] A juggle, if your Honors please, that may have an appropriate place where politicians assemble, but has no standing in this court. I am not unaware, too, of the fact that this bill and answer show that when Mr. Smith was previously elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, Mahlon D. Manson, then Lieutenant-Governor, was in the chair, and put the question on his election. Utterly void!—void under the Constitution, which gives

the Senate the right only to elect when the Lieutenant-Governor is absent. Why, so well recognized is the rule that when President Garfield and Vice-President Arthur came in, at the executive session first held, the Senate elected no President *pro tempore*, and could not, because the Vice-President occupied the chair. And when that fatal bullet of the assassin killed the President, Congress had to be reconvened, that the Senate might choose one in order to provide for the succession. And I remember, too, that when our own distinguished citizen, Thomas A. Hendricks, whose untimely taking off we all mourn, became Vice-President, he, too, occupied his place in the Vice-President's chair, and did not give the Senate opportunity to select a President *pro tempore*, and that when he died there was no successor if President Cleveland had followed his untimely footsteps. And yet we have a case here, and the gentleman calls my attention to it, where it is shown by the papers that this man, claiming to hold over and to have succeeded when General Manson became collector of internal revenue, to the office of Lieutenant-Governor, was elected with the Lieutenant-Governor in the chair.

It is "for an occasion," may it please your Honors. Words of limitation, characterizing an office as temporary, fleeting and inviting a successor, could not have been more aptly chosen. I will not detain your Honors longer with the discussion of this question. The limit of time which, I assume, was assigned me has been exhausted.

Justice Mitchell—We have interrupted you some, and I take it the court will be glad to have you occupy the time needed to conclude your argument.

Senator Harrison—The interruptions have only ornamented my argument.

Mr. Brown—So far as we are concerned, there is no limit of time.

Justice Mitchell—Our interruptions may have broken the chain of your argument and placed you at some disadvantage, and we would be glad to have you finish.

Senator Harrison—If I have been put to any disad-

vantage by the interruptions, it was on account of the weakness of the advocate, and not of the cause for which I speak.

Your Honors, here are two threshold questions of jurisdiction. To the consideration thereof I invoke the careful, thoughtful and conscientious consideration of the court. I am sure I need not, by any word of mine, attempt to stimulate your courage to deal with any question that can be submitted. It would be a disrespectful suggestion. Because the court that, walking uprightly in the strength and dignity of the high office it exercises, and defying clamor, refuses to decide questions of which it has not jurisdiction, will outlive clamor, and will establish itself in the confidence of the whole people, a confidence which gives its judgments strength and executes its decrees without the aid of force.

As some periods in the text of this chapter may appear extravagant, it may be well to fortify them; and, for that purpose, I am glad to avail myself of a letter received from W. P. Fishback, Esq., under date of July 13, 1888.

Mr. Fishback was a member, as has been stated, of the firm of Porter, Harrison & Fishback, and says:

I saw General Harrison first in 1850 at Miami University. My room at Mr. High's boarding-house was next to David Swing's, and Ben (Harrison) came regularly on his way to Prof. Elliott's room to get some coaching in Pindar from Swing, who was his classmate. Ben was at the head in Latin and mathematics; so was Milt. Saylor of the same class. But they both, and I might say the whole class, looked upon Swing as the best in Greek.

In the Union Literary Society Ben was a star. I remember his faculty in extemporaneous speech amazed me, a faculty which he has improved wonderfully. In all my knowledge of him I never knew him to trip in a

sentence. He seemed to see about two well-rounded sentences ahead of him all the time. . . . . During the time I was his partner he worked like a slave. He was Reporter of the Supreme Court and prepared the "syllabuses" or "syllabii," as the case may be, at his home at nights. He was working to pay for his house, and came near wrecking his health by overwork. . . . . Before he came home from the field Porter and I, who were partners, wanted him to become second man in the firm of P., H. & F.—second in place, but always *facile princeps* in ability and industry. I have never been a laggard myself, neither has Porter; but I declare that of all the men I have known in professional life, Ben Harrison is the most diligent, painstaking and thorough. . . . .

It was the rule in our firm, when we were for the defense, to make Ben close for our side. If he made the first speech we were like Riley's old father in the poem, "Nothin' to say." That is literally true. More than once, when some other pressing duty was calling him, he would be allowed to make the first speech; and it was amusing to see Porter, as Ben proceeded. He would strike out from his notes one thing after another until Ben had finished. Then, when he was done, we would put our heads together and wisely conclude to let the case go with one speech for our side. He was a merciless reaper; nothing, absolutely nothing, was left for the most careful gleaner. Porter will bear me out in this. . . . . As an examiner of witnesses I never saw his (Harrison's) equal. He knew when to quit. He generally knew a tartar without catching it. Once an irascible elderly lady was on the witness stand. She testified with great spirit and extravagance; she was one of the "willingest" you ever saw. When passed to Ben for cross-examination there was a look of triumph in her eye. She squared herself for a bout, when Ben said:

"You may stand aside, madam."

"Oh, I have heard of you; you can cross-question me as much as you please; I am not afraid of you," said she.

"I have no questions to ask you, madam," was the

bland reply, and she was finished. She had most effectually destroyed whatever of weight there might have been in her evidence, and Ben allowed her to retire. . . . . Ben's fidelity—absolute and unqualified by the magnitude of the interests involved in a case—was another marked feature of his style of work. If we had consented to take a case, no matter how small, it was prepared for trial by him with as much care as if the controversy was of the greatest importance. His notes for cross-examination were always complete; and I never saw a dishonest witness get out of his hands without exposure. Men of his rare ability are sometimes led to abuse their power, but he never did this to my knowledge. The jury could always see that he was fair with the witness and gave him full opportunity for explanation and escape if there was any chance. . . . . One of his greatest triumphs in cross-examination was in the celebrated Clem murder case. Three persons were indicted for the murder—Mrs. Clem, William Abrams, and Syke Hartman (Mrs. Clem's brother). Each of them attempted to prove an *alibi*. The murder was committed about four miles from Indianapolis on a Saturday afternoon at quarter past four o'clock in September, 1868. Two reputable ladies swore that at four o'clock on the day of the murder they met and conversed with Mrs. Clem in the New York store in the city of Indianapolis. If this were true the whole theory of the prosecution was wrong. The circumstances tended to show that Mrs. Clem murdered Mr. Young with her own hand, and the case rested wholly on circumstantial evidence. The *alibi* witnesses were apparently honest. That they had met and conversed with Mrs. Clem at the place, and at the time and day they named, was beyond question. It was equally certain that it was on Saturday; and that it was the identical Saturday when the murder was committed they were sure. That they were mistaken we were sure, but how to show it was the question. Ben went at it on the theory that he could, by cross-examination, show that it was some other Saturday. The force of an *alibi* depends upon its covering the exact time the other facts,

with all their circumstances, may have occurred; but the time is the thing. Ben asked them to name something else that happened the day they met Mrs. Clem. A letter had been written to a friend in Pennsylvania, for one thing. That did not help the matter. It was necessary to have them state something which could be traced and shown to have occurred at another time. Patiently, persistently and politely they were asked again and again by way of suggestion if this or that had happened. At the end of a long siege the mother's eye lit up, and she said: "Oh, yes; I remember now. It was the day the constable from 'Squire Fisher's came to serve a subpœna on us." In ten minutes the docket of Esquire Fisher was in the court room, the subpœna and return were there, and it appeared that it was *Saturday, the week after the murder*, when they saw Mrs. Clem in the store. She was still at large at that time; and we proved by other witnesses that she was down town shopping that day. The *alibis* for the other defendants were very clumsy and were more easily disproved. . . . . I have been suspected of having an exaggerated estimate of Harrison's ability; but I declare that, in my experience of thirty-two years, I have never seen a man in whose hands I would be more willing to place my imperilled life or fortune than in his. I have heard some men say that he is overrated; but they were generally those who had never grappled with him in a hard fight. No lawyer who ever met him before court or jury will talk that way.

On this testimony the chapter given to General Harrison's professional career may be rested.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SOLDIER.

THE fruits of the great Union victory at Pittsburg Landing, April 7, 1862, were first, the recovery of the Mississippi river to its mouth; second, the separation of the Trans-Mississippi States of the Confederacy, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, from the States eastward of the river. These fruits were lost by the inaction that followed the victory, and by dividing the magnificent army gathered at and around Corinth into detachments, and scattering them aimlessly up and down the country.

The disappointment to the loyal people of the West consequent upon the failure to realize something commensurate with the success was intensely bitter. At length General Buell was ordered to march the Army of the Ohio to Chattanooga, and hold it for some succeeding operation all unknown except to General Halleck, chief commander of the army, and there have been great suspicions that on that ulterior point even he was not fully made up in mind.

There can be little question that General Buell could have established himself in Chattanooga if

he had been allowed to proceed as he wished, by a direct march along a route north of the Tennessee river, drawing supplies from Nashville. Instead of that he was peremptorily required to follow the line of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad from Corinth to Decatur, repairing it as he went. It resulted that General Bragg was able to concentrate a new army at Chattanooga before Buell could reach it, whereupon the latter was speedily put upon the defensive. Then began the celebrated race on parallel lines between the generals, in the course of which Buell was severely taxed to save Nashville first and then Louisville. The news spread through Ohio and Indiana that the Confederates were in Kentucky in force, with the advantage of the interior line for their operations. The consternation was prodigious.

President Lincoln had recently issued another proclamation calling for troops. So great was the public depression, however, that Governor Morton found difficulty in filling the quota due from Indiana; but, keenly alive to the dangers of the situation, he made appeals everywhere and to everybody to assist in the work. No one was so dull of military perception as not to see that Indiana and Ohio were threatened by Bragg. A battle lost in Kentucky would make it easy for that chief to carry his army across the Ohio at his pleasure.

One day, when the gloom of the public was deepest, Harrison, in company with a friend, called upon Governor Morton. The visitors found him pacing the floor of the reception room of the executive office in a frame of mind fairly reflective of the general feeling. When the business which had brought them was concluded the Governor took them into his inner room on the first floor on the east side of the old State House, where they stood with him looking out of a window. A number of workmen were in fair view engaged in the erection of what is now known as the Gallup Building on Tennessee street. After a brief silence, Morton remarked that he was quite discouraged; that the President's call for more troops had been out for some time, and met no ready response; that the people were slow in waking up to the exigency of the moment, and, pointing to some men cutting stone on the other side of the street, he said: "The people are following their own private business, so that it has come to be a serious question what I shall do next to arouse them." He spoke with a great deal of depression, and in such a manner that Harrison felt he was addressing himself personally to him. So he replied: "Governor, if I can be of any service, I will go."

"Well," the other replied at once, "you can raise a regiment in this Congressional district right away; but it is asking too much of you to go

into the field with it; you have just been elected Reporter of the Supreme Court. But go to work and raise it, and we will find somebody to command it."

Harrison answered that that did not suit him; if he made any speeches, and asked men to go, he proposed to go along with them, and stay as long as any of them did, if he lived that long. He said emphatically that he did not intend to recruit others and stay at home himself.

The Governor remarked: "Very well; if you want to go, you can command the regiment."

"I do not know," Harrison replied, "as I want to command the regiment. I do not know anything about military tactics. So, if you can find some suitable person of experience in such matters, I am not at all anxious to take the command."

The result was that at the end of the interview Harrison went up street, and on the way, without going home, stepped into a hat store and bought a military cap. Without the loss of a moment he then engaged a fifer and drummer, returned to his office, threw a flag out of the window, and began recruiting for Company A.

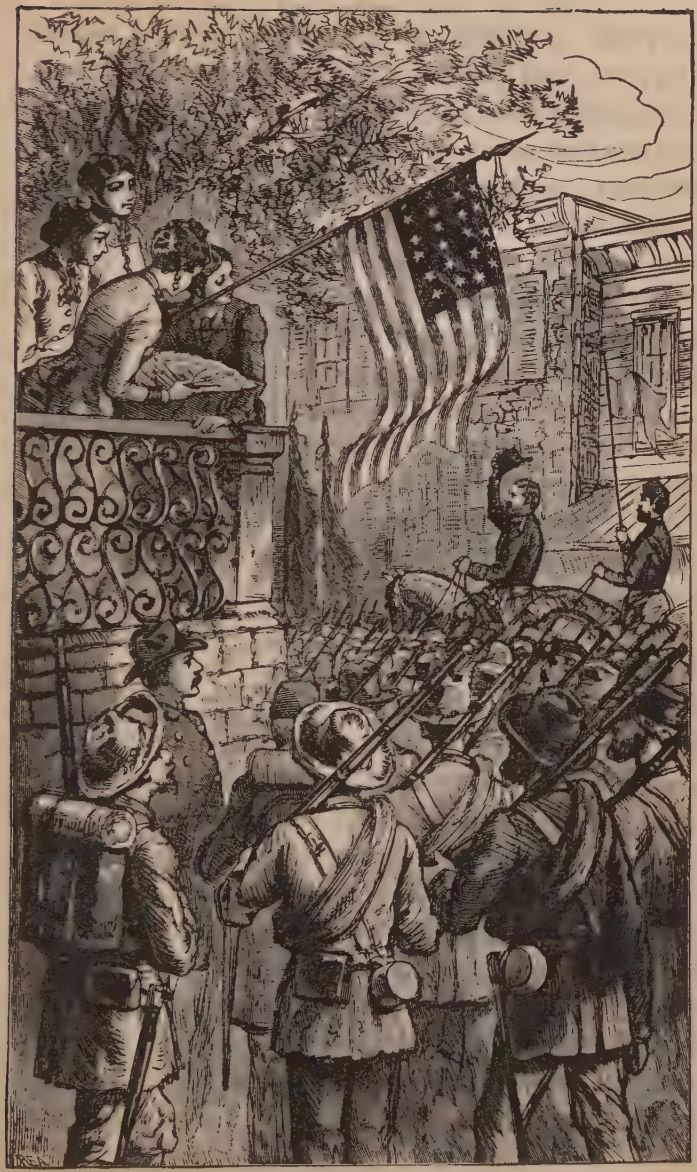
The company was speedily full and put into camp in the western part of the city. The new soldiers lay there, and drilled as they had opportunity. Harrison employed a drill-master in Chicago for them, paying the hire himself. There

they remained about a month. In the meantime he was given a commission as Second Lieutenant. Frequently, when the drill was over, he went out and made speeches in aid of other gentlemen engaged in raising companies. When the regiment was complete Governor Morton voluntarily commissioned him Colonel.

The military authorities were concentrating troops about that time in Louisville to meet Kirby Smith, who had passed through Cumberland Gap and was making way northward through New London to Lexington. The rawness of Colonel Harrison's companies can well be imagined; muskets had just been issued to them, and they did not know how to handle them. But the excitement was heightened by the circumstance that General Bragg was hastening with the main body of his army to Louisville, having turned Nashville, to which General Buell had marched to save the immense stores of supplies there collected. The rebel general was in fact north of Nashville, so that Bowling Green, which was at that time fortified, had become a Union outpost, below which everything had been broken by the Confederates. Thither Harrison's 70th Regiment Indiana Volunteers was hurried.

Buell's army, in pursuit of Bragg, marched past Bowling Green, and the regiment was still there when the battle of Perryville was fought, having been brigaded temporarily under General Dumont.

While stationed at Bowling Green Colonel Harrison was sent upon an expedition against a body of rebels lodged at Russellville, and, as it was his first essay in what may be called an independent operation, it may be of interest to give its details. His command was put upon a train and hurried off. When he had arrived within about ten miles of the town the advance was stopped by an untoward circumstance. The enemy had burned a bridge over a small stream and then retired to Russellville to have a good time with sympathizing friends. Colonel Harrison, however, was not so easily stopped; he had resources within his regiment. Two or three of his captains had been railroad men, and, upon examination of the bridge, they thought they could repair the damage so as to cross the train with but little delay. Only a portion of a span was gone. A pier of railroad ties was piled up in the centre as a support; then a couple of large trees were cut down, and pushed across the break. From a side track near by some rails were torn up and laid upon the timbers. Thus a crossing was effected. While slowly approaching the town a negro man plowing corn saw the train, and unhitching his horse, jumped on him, and galloped alongside the track. Colonel Harrison was at the moment on the tender of the locomotive, the better to observe whatever might happen. He had men at the brakes on the freight cars, and



OFF FOR THE FRONT.

they readily answered his signal to stop. The negro told him where the camp was situated, and how it could be best approached. The Colonel then divided the regiment, sending three or four companies under Major Vance to go around and come in on the other side so as to intercept the enemy when started. Waiting time enough for the detachment to reach its position, he disembarked his troops, and attacked with energy. The surprise was so complete that there was not much of a fight. Forty rebels were killed and wounded; one Unionist soldier was killed. Ten prisoners and all the horses and arms of the rebels were captured. With these trophies the young Colonel returned to Bowling Green.

The 70th Regiment was brigaded with the 79th Ohio and the 102d, 105th and the 129th Illinois, Brigadier-General W. T. Ward, of Kentucky, commanding; and, what is extraordinary, the organization thus effected was kept unchanged to the close of the war. The closeness of the ties formeb during the long service between officers and men can be best understood by old soldiers. Out of the association there also grew a confidence of regiment in regiment of inestimable benefit to the cause—a confidence which, as we shall presently see, became in the hour of trial a kind of audacious faith each in the other. By virtue of seniority of commission, Colonel Harrison was given the right of the brigade.

Now that the 70th regiment is in the actual field, it would be very agreeable to give a roster of the officers and, for that matter, the full roll of the men. But on account of the many changes that occurred in course of its career, there is not space for all, while a partial statement would be unsatisfactory.

From Bowling Green, Colonel Harrison, with his command, accompanied the brigade to Scottsville, Kentucky, and thence to Gallatin, Tennessee. For two months he was occupied guarding the Louisville & Nashville road between Gallatin and Nashville. Four months then followed in camp. This period was about evenly divided between hunting guerillas and drilling his men. To the latter occupation he devoted himself sedulously; for it must be remembered that he was as fresh in arms as the greenest man in the ranks. He was systematic and painstaking, however, and buckled to the mysteries of the tactical "schools" as he had in college days to geometry. Indeed, his method of instruction was precisely that of his college tutors. Calling the officers to his tent of evenings, he questioned them progressively and required them to illustrate the manœuvres upon a board, chalk in hand. "Hardee" was of course the umpire for the settlement of questions. On the parade ground there was general practice of the lessons studied. The course pursued was wise and effective. The

70th became, while at Gallatin, expert in all the military exercises required of infantry. While their dress parade was beautiful, they were "up" not less in sentinel and picket duty. Their "skirmishing" is said to have been a remarkable performance. All the while he was thus making soldiers of his men, the Colonel was making an accomplished officer of himself. His theory was that every day in camp should be used in preparation for that other day, always to be kept in a soldier's mind—the day of battle.

From Gallatin the brigade marched to Lavergne, and thence to Murfreesboro. There it became part of General Granger's Reserve Corps. When General Rosecrans set out for Chattanooga General Ward was sent to Nashville to look after the safety of the trains carrying supplies to the front, a most arduous and important duty, often taxing to the uttermost the courage and best resources of those engaged in it.

At length the time came when Ward's command was called to the front. On the 2d of January, 1864, it became the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division of the 11th Army Corps, and Colonel Harrison was put in command of it, his chief taking the division.

The 11th and 12th Army Corps about this time were consolidated into the 20th Army Corps, whereupon Ward's old brigade became the 1st Brigade of the 3d Division of the 20th Corps,

and so numbered it remained until the conclusion of the war. General Ward returning to the command of the brigade, Colonel Harrison resumed that of the regiment.

It will be perceived by the reader, whether he have been a soldier or not, that by this time Colonel Harrison could not well be any longer called a carpet knight, but rather a seasoned soldier, wanting in but one great remaining experience—that of battle. He himself would not dignify the skirmishes and alarms of the camp by night and by day through which he had passed as incidents of that character; they were merely the trials by which he was making ready for general combats. It is always better for the officer that it should be so; for it is as if, during the time, he were sitting face to face with the terrors of the engaged lines that, by much study, they should become familiar to him, and he himself hardened against the day of their coming. This is said, of course, upon the assumption that battle is terrible to every one who goes down into it. And as that experience was now about to befall Colonel Harrison, thorough understanding requires a brief preliminary explanation.

There had been campaigns and battles before the spring of 1864, but they were mere incidents of irregular operations along a front extending, in a general sense, from the Rio Grande to the Atlantic. In that season, however, a real down-

right commander went into headquarters at Washington, and the old order of things at once changed. Looking with the discerning eye of genius over the whole field, he devised campaigns in combination. Thus he started General Banks up the Red river southwest, and Sherman against Joe Johnston below Chattanooga; he himself would hunt Lee into Richmond. The idea underlying the scheme was to give occupation to the Confederates on their right, left, and centre, and keep them so busy that there could be no passing of help from one section to another. So the numerical superiority of the North would be really available, and the advantage of the inner line nullified.

Sherman, in whose work we are most directly concerned, had with him three famous armies: that of the Ohio (General Schofield), that of the Cumberland (General Thomas), and that of the Tennessee (General McPherson). In popular estimation Atlanta was his objective; but he says it was not so; that he was really directed against the army commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, 64,000 strong, then at Dalton, entrenched; that he "was required to follow it up closely, so that in no event could any part of it be detached to assist General Lee in Virginia; General Grant undertaking in like manner to keep Lee so busy that he could not respond to any calls of help by Johnston. Neither Atlanta,

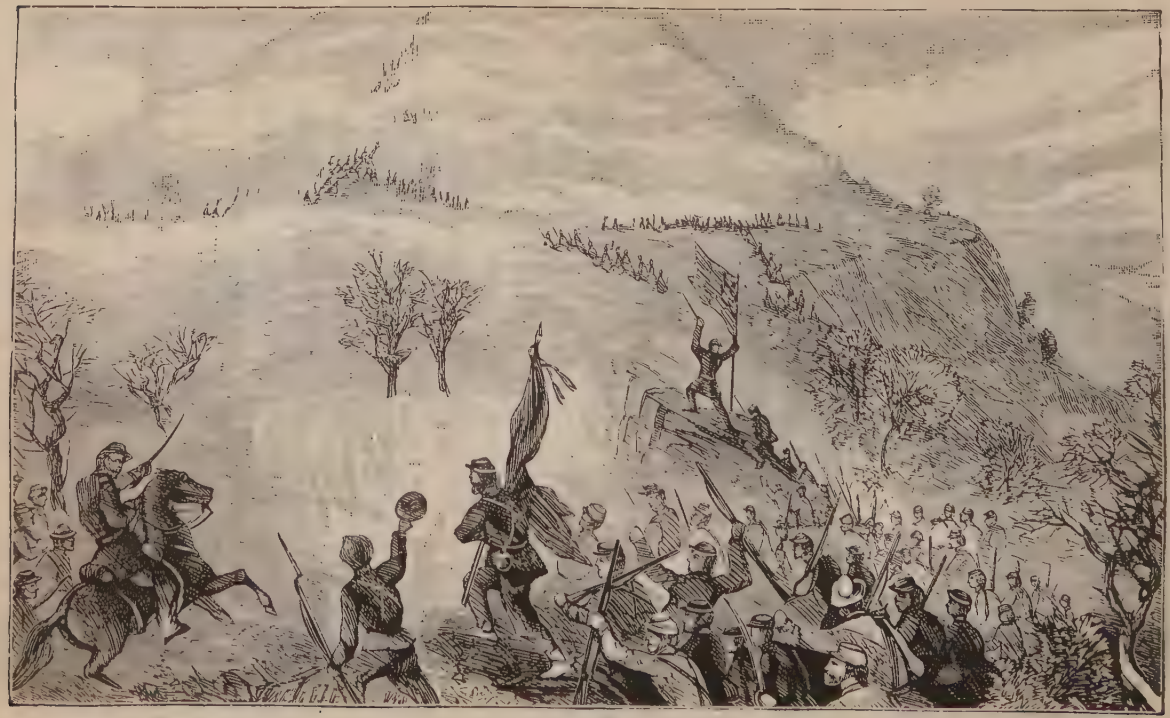
nor Augusta, nor Savannah was the objective, but the 'army of Joe Johnston,' go where it might." (2 Mem., p. 25.) He says, moreover, that on the 5th of May he rode out to Ringgold from Chattanooga. Thereupon his campaign began.

To Dalton then, or to get a grip upon Johnston, Sherman directed his columns. The attempt drew from him his first bit of strategy.

Perceiving that the town was very strong as a position, he concluded the best way to take it was to get possession of the railroad which was the enemy's line of supply. For that it would be necessary to send part of his force around to the south. Accordingly McPherson was chosen for the enterprise, and to his Army of the Tennessee the 20th Corps, under General Hooker, was joined as a support.

The 20th Corps was constituted of three divisions, Newton's, Williams', and Butterfield's. The brigades of the latter were the 1st, commanded by Brigadier-General Ward, the 2d, Colonel John Coburn, the 3d, Colonel Wood.

All the 7th and 8th of May McPherson was in movement. On the 9th he and Hooker issued silently from Snake Creek Gap on the south. A brigade of Confederate cavalry took to their saddles, and hurried to Johnston with news that Buzzard's Roost and Dalton were turned, and that there was an army in his rear about to take possession of the railroad and Resaca.



BATTLE ABOVE THE CLOUDS.

While Johnston was thinking what to do in the emergency, Sherman passed his whole army through Snake Creek Gap. On the 14th the enemies stood opposed to each other, Johnston in Resaca, Sherman close up to its defenses. Dalton had been evacuated. The bit of strategy had worked to perfection.

But now to take Resaca!

The town was enveloped on the north and west, and the fighting, mostly at long range, was continuous all through the 14th, and it scarcely quieted in the night. At daylight next morning Sherman drew his compresses closer about the post, and in the afternoon, everybody being in position, he pushed McPherson forward to a ridge commanding the town and a railroad bridge, defense of which was literally a *living* necessity to the Confederates. Accordingly they made repeated attempts to dispossess McPherson; and the attacks and sallies thus brought about have since gone into history as

THE BATTLE OF RESACA.

On Saturday, the 14th, a general engagement had taken place, the Confederates being the attacking party. They attempted to turn Sherman's left, and were themselved rolled back upon Resaca. The chief fighting that day was by Schofield and Stanley, who lost heavily.

Sunday morning found the two armies ready,

and they began anew. Though the success had been to the Union army the day before, the position of the Confederates was now even more advantageous. The bulk of Johnston's Corps was concentrated on a short line, thoroughly fortified from right to left. The Oostenaula, with its marshy banks, covered his centre, which rested on a considerable ridge; strong field-works protected his left flank; his right abutted against the river, and to get to it an attacking force must needs cross a range of hills crowned with redoubts and rifle-pits.

The front presented by the Confederates was not more than two miles and a half in length; opposite it Sherman's army was drawn up. A reconnoissance was had, and the conclusion reached that the key to the position of the Confederates was some eminences on the right of their line. Sherman determined to assault them. For that purpose Hooker's corps was brought over to the left, with Howard's as support.

A glance at the site to be attacked may be helpful to the reader, by enabling him to thoroughly comprehend the trials of the assault. The eminences should not be thought of as a range; they were in irregular groups, with hollows and ravines between them, all choked with stunted pine trees and undergrowth, without break or path. The turnpike from Dalton unrolled itself at their feet.

In front of the Confederate line there was a hill higher than the others, and it was lodged full of sharpshooters; rearward of the line two other eminences were plain to view; and on the nearest of these a battery had been planted, masked by the woods, while the other was crowned by a redoubt skilfully constructed. Four guns looked from the redoubt down over the turnpike like dogs asleep in the embrasures, and the summit round about was perfectly cleared. These hills were the objects of attack.

The early hours of the forenoon were taken up by Hooker in getting his brigades into position; when all was ready, Butterfield was directed to move forward, and when within range deploy into columns by brigades. Geary and Williams were to support him.

Butterfield's plan of attack was simple. To the 3d Brigade, Wood commanding, the duty of charging the heights on the left of the road was assigned; General Ward, with his 1st Brigade, was to gain possession of the hill upon the right; the 2d Brigade, under Colonel Coburn, was in reserve: so that not inaptly it has been said that the engagement which ensued was really two battles instead of one. We shall confine ourselves altogether to that of General Ward.

At two o'clock that Sunday morning the 1st Brigade (Ward's) had been roused to throw up breastworks. It was their first attempt in that

branch of the art of war, and they were engaged at it when the sun rose struggling with the smoke of the many camps. Hardly had they taken coffee when an order reached Butterfield directing him to move his division to the left of the 14th Army Corps.

The march lay in the rear of the lines, through heavy pine groves. The expectation of battle was in every mind; the gloom of the woods heightened the remembrance that it was Sunday at home, if not there. The silence of the march was unbroken except by an occasional order from an officer and the clink and rattle of canteens and bayonets. At last the new position was reached. A halt was called at the top of an elevation, at the foot of which lay a narrow valley terminating in a higher hill. Looking over the valley, and the pine woods that cloaked it, the men saw in half concealment on the opposite summit a line of skirmishers deployed and ready for business.

Hardly had they time to take in the situation when the ominous order passed down, "Unsling —knapsacks!" A detail was made to guard them; then, as best might be on account of the ground, the three brigades were formed each into a column of regiments. While the division stood in this order, facing the skirmishers on the opposite crest, they began to surmise the purpose of their transfer over to the extreme left, and when

the final preparative order "Fix bayonets" was given, every man understood he was to take part in an assault upon the enemy in position. Whether he was to look for that enemy behind parapets or in the open like themselves, became a question of liveliest interest. As the experience was a new one, even the bravest heart might be excused if it beat unusually fast.

To General Ward, of the 1st Brigade, there presently rode an officer with the order to attack. The hill on the right of the road was pointed out to him as the one against which he was to direct his column. Without loss of time the order was repeated to Colonel Harrison, who, appreciating the work before him, paused to give some directions. Seeing the impossibility of making way through the woods and dense undergrowth on horseback, he ordered a general dismount of field and staff officers, and dismounted himself. He also made up his mind that it would be difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to preserve his line; once fairly within the grove of young pine trees he would be unable to see from right to left of his regiments; if the captains could do better with their companies, they might congratulate themselves. The colors were to be displayed to the best advantage as a centre about which the men were to mass themselves, and by which they were to govern their advance. He said to the officer who brought him the order: "I am not familiar

with the ground; you are. Go with me, and show me the battery; I do not want to charge flank on to it." The two then started to reconnoitre. The report of a gun saved them the trouble. Divining the direction from the shell which passed over his head, Harrison called out so as to be heard by the line behind him, "Come on, boys," and started down the hill.

At that moment the formation of the brigade was as follows: 70th Indiana, 79th Ohio, and 102d, 105th and 129th Illinois, with the right in front. This placed Colonel Harrison in the lead; and while running he marked out as well as he could, down the hill, across the valley, and up the opposite ascent the line he was to pursue. He yet remembers computing the distance to be passed before he could strike the enemy at about six hundred yards.

The brigade, with a great shout, put itself in motion, arms at right shoulder shift, and all the flags raised to the utmost. The crash of the five regiments through the underbrush, the rush and tear, must be imagined.

Seeing so large a body of men in the act of charging, the rebels on the opposite crest opened upon it with great guns and small. The target was large; no need to take aim. Under the sharp "zip," "zip" of the bullets, and the singing "p-i-n-g" of grape-shot, familiar to every veteran, officers and men took up the cry of "forward."

As was anticipated, the column rushing down the declivity lost its alignments and intervals, and fused into a mass while crossing the valley. When the ascent was made, the entanglement of the several commands had become inextricable. But, in that supreme disorder, they still bore on, unmindful of the cannon in the redoubt then confronting them—on through the smoke and terrible din. Men fell fast, and there was no time to carry them to the rear; scarcely time to avoid trampling the wounded to death. Colors now and then went down; next moment they would reappear. At length the redoubt was reached; without halting or wavering the exultant mass poured over and into it, and then, the capture effected, the guns in possession, every regiment in the brigade was represented there; nor may it be said with truth that the success was attributable to any one of the several commands exclusively.

Colonel Harrison was amongst the first to cross the parapet. It has been said that he was the very first. A hand-to-hand combat ensued, the gunners defending themselves with their rammers and the assailants attacking with their clubbed muskets; officers exchanged pistol shots. It was, in fact, one of the rare instances of a genuine bayonet-charge without a shot fired except by the defenders of the redoubt. The artillerymen stood at their posts to the last; those not killed were taken prisoners. The air rang

with victorious cheers, and for a while the enclosure was a scene of frantic joy. The colors had all been borne inside, and to both friend and enemy in the distance they announced that the height was gained.

But this was only for an instant. Before the officers could begin the work of reformation, while the men in their exuberance of triumph were embracing each other and shouting, the rebels, on the right and left, and in the second line of works of which they had repossessed themselves, opened a cross-fire upon them so deadly that in a few minutes the interior of the redoubt was vacated, and the conquerors outside in cover behind the parapet and every convenient thing in the vicinity. Unfixing bayonets, they returned the fire and were doing well when two other misfortunes befell them. Some one shouted that there was an order to retreat. From whom the cry proceeded is to this day unknown. Then, to complete the distraction, they were fired upon from behind with fatal effect. Pelted thus front and rear, enfiladed right and left, confused by conflicting orders, distracted, the major part of them retreated to the foot of the hill. Nevertheless a number clung to the redoubt, swearing that they had captured the guns and were going to stay with them, and they made the word good by repulsing every attempt to retake them.

In short, the redoubt was held, though from the

CLOSE QUARTERS AT RESACA.

outside. Once the men about it holding grimly on heard the music of a band wafted to them upon the evening air. They thought it a promise of coming relief, and that there was never melody so sweet. But night fell, and then, when the darkness was complete, Colonel Coburn received an order to send a detachment to bring off the guns. A tunnel was driven through the parapet, all hands willingly joining in the work. Then, amid defiant cheers, the trophies were taken out with the dead and wounded.

Colonel Harrison remained at the redoubt until satisfied that it could and would be held. Then he went to the foot of the hill to assist in reforming his men.

"Have you your head on your shoulders yet?" he asked of a lieutenant.

"Yes," was the reply.

"Run, then, as fast as you can and tell those fellows in the rear yonder that they are killing us, and to stop firing, for God's sake."

At the foot of the hill he was informed that General Ward had been wounded, and that the command of the brigade had devolved upon him. Remounting his horse, he had the colors planted and the men speedily in their places, and so reporting, he requested to be allowed to renew the attack, and bring off the remnant on the hill.

Butterfield referred the request to Hooker, who

came in person to see about it, and hearing that the men about the redoubt were doing well and could probably hold their own until night, he marched the brigade off to another quarter of the field.

After that Colonel Harrison was christened by his soldiers "Little Ben," the sobriquet by which they still know him. The writer has before him a little volume entitled, *Our Regiment: A History of the* 102*d Illinois Infantry Volunteers.* Describing the final parting of the regiments after the grand review at Washington, the author says:

> Halting a moment at brigade head-quarters we gave three cheers for "Little Ben" (Brevet Brigadier-General Ben Harrison), then looked for the last time at the lone-star-triangle, the battle-flag which had fluttered before us from Chattanooga to Atlanta, from Atlanta to Savannah, and from Savannah to the last encampment.

The battle of Resaca, though unfortunate, had been honorable to the National arms; it was especially honorable to the three brigades of the 3d Division of the 20th Army Corps, Wood's, Coburn's and Ward's. In the crisis of the attack by Colonel Harrison, Colonel Coburn moved up faithfully to his support, and, ascending the hill, took an outwork, but could get no further, so fierce was the fire. To help him, the portion of the 1st Brigade under Colonel Harrison—that rallied after the retirement from the redoubt—was in turn moved over, and joining him, assisted

in holding position the remainder of the day under the very brow of the greater rebel fortification. Wood's assault of the other height had been equally brave and unsuccessful. Sherman and his whole line of battle were delighted when the next morning disclosed the stubborn enemy gone, and Resaca at mercy.

Three days afterward Colonel Harrison had the pleasure of supporting Colonel Coburn in the latter's brilliant capture of Cassville.

General Butterfield, in a complimentary order to the troops of his division, said: "On the 18th the division marched twenty miles—much of it in the heat of the sun; partially making its own roads; moving five miles in line of battle, and driving the enemy before them. On the 19th the division again moved to the enemy's extreme right. The advance of the 1st Brigade, unsupported, driving the enemy to within one and a half miles of Cassville, by the Adairsville road; the reconnoissance of the 3d Brigade to the railroad between Kingston and Cassville, unsupported, and in the presence of five times its number of the enemy; the defiant attitude of the division, alone and unsupported, when threatened by thrice its number; the assault and capture of Cassville, by the 2d Brigade; the daring and boldness of the artillery, especially the section of Battery C, 1st Ohio, Lieutenant King commanding; their fine practice at the enemy's retreating

columns, and the conduct and bearing of the whole division throughout the two days, especially while in the presence of the main army of the enemy, are worthy of the highest commendation. Resaca and Cassville are proud names for our banners."

From Cassville southward still, and every day a collision of some sort with the enemy—at every halt a breastwork built. In this latter incident the army was becoming singularly expert. The spade was of course the reliable tool, but not seldom, when the enemy was near, and his bullets flying low, the scooping of the loose earth was done with tin-cups and plates. The sides of a split canteen were favorite tools. Here is the scene:

The regiment is moving by the flank, generally the right. Suddenly it comes upon the skirmishers covering the front. The firing is warm, and the enemy in force. "Halt!" rings down the column. Every man comes to a "shoulder," the whole body moved up to intervals. There is scarcely a pause—in a breath almost the companies front, and then double-quick into line of battle. There is a rattle of steel, and the arms are stacked. The Colonel gallops along the front; the ground is chosen—"A breastwork here—get to work—break ranks—march!" Thus the Colonel; and if the need is great, he winds up with—"Quick, lads!" The spades and picks are

distributed on the run. There is no lagging—everybody is willing—it may be life or death.

And as to the process. The beginning is a trench, with the earth thrown to the inside. Not a spadeful is wasted. When deep enough to cover a man lying flat, the "hands" are shifted inside, and there another ditch is dug, and the wastage added to the bank, which is now long as the regimental front. It has risen like magic. If time allows, and the timber is convenient, the coping of the breastwork is overlaid with heavy logs. What is most surprising—the men who do the work, sometimes in feverish haste, who crawl into the inner ditch as if to take up their abode there, who defend the shallow parapet for days and weeks, will, when the time comes, march away from them without regret. It may be safely said that there is no labor so willingly done by a soldier as the construction of a breastwork or a rifle-pit when the foe have "got the ranges" upon him.

Probably no army ever became more skilful in this "gophering" than Sherman's during the days it was keeping grip upon Joe Johnston. Their rivals, if they really had any, were the men in gray who opposed them.

Colonel Harrison's command did not fall behind in the accomplishment. From Resaca on they had scarcely a halt in the day or the night that was not marked by a hasty fortification; for

in truth the commands all came as near living under fire the while as soldiers ever did—not one, but all of them. While Resaca was the Colonel's first real battle, it was simply an introduction to a series of others swift in coming, and each seemingly hotter than the one preceding. In one month he was engaged in more battles than his grandfather William Henry Harrison fought in his whole life—more than Andrew Jackson fought in his life. For want of space the engagements in which he participated cannot all be given. A few must suffice to illustrate the many.

HARRISON AT NEW HOPE CHURCH.

The 25th of May found Butterfield's division on the march, and in a hurry, for there was warm work before it. Shortly after noon it crossed Pumpkinville creek, stirred by the clatter of a cavalry skirmish in front. As it proceeded, the sound changed to the deeper tones of battle, which are as base-drum beating to the tum-tum of a tamborine. The messengers from the advance explained it—the 1st and 2d Divisions of the corps (20th) had been attacked by a heavy force on the Dallas road, near New Hope Church.

Arriving in the rear of the position held by their friends of the corps, the three brigades of the 3d Division were formed in line of battle by regiments in mass; the 2d (Coburn's) moved

CAVALRY DASH.

forward to support the 3d (Wood's). After going a distance of a mile in the direction of the firing, the 3d Brigade bore off to the left, while the 2d advanced to the front, leaving the 1st in reserve. The country over which the movement proceeded is described as an unbroken forest with undulations from twenty to thirty feet in height. Upon one of them the enemy had fortified. The position was admirably chosen for the use of artillery; the whole ground of advance was, in fact, commanded by the rebel guns. The 2d Brigade, taking position, was at once engaged, after which it was give and take in close range for the remainder of the day. The sun went down upon the fight; darkness came, and still there was no cessation of the musketry and the roar of the great guns. And to all the indescribable horrors of the combat there was now added a cold, searching and continuous rain which had the effect to compel a cessation of the struggle.

But as, when the firing ceased, the result of the engagement was undetermined, the 1st Brigade was brought up shivering, cold and wet, with no dry place on which to fling themselves. Colonel Harrison, sharing all the discomforts with his men, set to work with them constructing a breastwork, and, that completed, waited for what the dawn might bring him.

In the mist of the morning the battle began anew. The night had been but a respite. Then,

immediately, Colonel Harrison discovered that through the failure of the guide his whole command was out in an open field to the right of the Sand Town road, which should have marked the right of his position. Almost the first cannon shot apprised him of the mistake, and that it was of a serious nature. The guns were turned upon him; and, to use the language of another describing the fight, shells, grape-shot, canister, railroad spikes, and every deadly missile rained about his regiment. As best they could, hugging the half-finished earthwork before them, the ditch but a pool of muddy water, his men returned the fire. And all that day the contest continued with scarce an intermission, when a Wisconsin regiment came to his relief. The severity of the fire may be judged by the fact that the relieving regiment lost two field officers while getting into position.

That night, when the firing ceased, Colonel Harrison had his dead collected for burial. His wounded he had taken to a little frame house standing a short distance in the rear, and he sent for his surgeons. Unfortunately they had separated from the command in the darkness. Anxious, solicitous and sympathetic, in their absence the Colonel turned surgeon himself. Taking off his coat and rolling his sleeves to his elbows, he set to staunching the wounds. He says, speaking of the circumstance: "I do not know whether I did any service; I tried to." He caused some

tents to be torn up for bandages, and worked industriously several hours before the surgeons appeared. When they came into the improvised hospital, they found him covered with the blood which he had striven to stop. In the dim, flickering light of candles stuck in the floor, he looked like a butcher instead of a Samaritan. The survivors of his treatment never forgot his tenderness and the sympathy he showed by look, voice and action.

As incidents of the fight, Colonel Harrison tells of curious injuries received by his Major.

"I had gone," he says, "to the left of the regiment and sent the Major towards the right; very soon he came back to me with his hand on his breast, looking pale as a corpse. I saw he had had a terrible shock of some sort. Pulling open his coat I did not see any blood; and the explanation was this: He had been carrying a little spy-glass—one of those with a round barrel that straightened out like a telescope—and was a great hand to poke about the skirmishing line with it, trying to find a rebel flag or battery. I said to him one day, 'Major, they will shoot you in the eye right through that durned thing while you are poking around that way.' Well, instead of its being the cause of his death, it actually saved him. A bullet had struck the brass eye-piece of the glass and been deflected, and it had not penetrated the skin at all. As soon as he saw he

was not hurt he laughed at himself, remounted his horse and went back to his place. He was gone but a few minutes when he came back to me all doubled up in a knot, apparently carrying his bowels in his hands. He was badly hurt, but still I could not see a drop of blood about him. It turned out that a fragment of a shell had glanced right across his stomach, bent the plate of his sword-belt, tore a rent in his blouse so large that you could put your hand through it, and all leaving only a black spot upon his body. I ordered him from the field."

Speaking of the battle of New Hope Church, Colonel Harrison is still of opinion that the fighting was as heavy as he was at any time, before or afterwards, subjected to. He was greatly obliged to the Wisconsin regiment that came up so gallantly to take his place, and feels regret that he is now unable to give its number.

HARRISON AT GILGAL CHURCH.

On the 29th of May, General Ward having been advanced to the command of the division in place of General Butterfield, Colonel Harrison became Chief of the 1st Brigade and continued such to the final muster out at the conclusion of the war.

A curious disposition of the American soldier is to name a battle after a church, if such a building happens to be in the vicinity of the field. So

it came about that the engagement of New Hope Church was presently followed by that of Gilgal Church, corrupted into *Golgotha*.

On the 15th of June, the 3d Division, still advancing to help keep the "grip" on Joe Johnston, crossed a small stream below Kemp's mill, on the road to Gilgal Church, leaving Lost Mountain a short distance to the right and west. The order of march had been with the right or 1st Brigade (Harrison's) in front. Suddenly the skirmishers, feeling their way in advance, struck a line of rebel works, just abandoned, on the left of the road. A halt was called to form for battle. The 2d and 3d Brigades took position in lines behind the 1st. On the right was the 23d Army Corps; on the left the remainder of the 20th Corps.

After a halt of two hours, occupied in getting the troops into position, Colonel Harrison was ordered to move forward. Crossing an open field, broken at right angles to his line, he gained a road beyond, and dislodged the enemy's skirmishers. Following them closely he came to a woods. On the further side of a ravine that partially obstructed the line the ground ascended, and became a ridge well covered with trees. There was a stubborn resistance by the Confederate skirmishers; but Harrison, allowing them no rest, pushed them back until a line of earthworks was disclosed not more than two hundred yards in his front. Then the clatter of small

arms was drowned in the roar of artillery. The fire, then begun, extended off to the right, involving the 23d Corps.

Colonel Harrison's advance was checked. His regiment stood to the work—an hour passed, then a second—not an inch of ground was yielded. The Colonel rode to and fro behind his fileclosers, with cool indifference to the plunging shot and shells. The strain was terrific. At last he reported his ammunition exhausted; whereupon Coburn, always ready to assist his fellow-townsman, rushed his brigade forward. Colonel Harrison's regiment retired, Coburn's went in. The exchange was done so orderly that there was no break in the front, and scarcely an interruption in the fire. The men of the 1st Brigade were fast becoming veterans. All the afternoon the struggle continued. Night fell at last and hid the combatants from each other. Thanks to the density of the woods the National loss was not so great as the commanders feared.

There was "coffee and hard-tack." Then the old resort to fortifying, which was continued unremittingly all night. When the sun began to light up the shorn forest the enemy, looking out of his embrasures and over the log coping of his breastworks, beheld an opposing line of fresh yellow earth thrown up within two hundred yards of him.

There the foemen stood watching each other

all through the 16th. That day the skirmishers had it to themselves.

On the 17th the Confederates stole away. At 5 o'clock in the evening the Nationals were in possession of the coveted works, which were of three lines, the first one capable of resisting heavy artillery. Its front was moreover garnished with stakes sharpened at the points and fixed firmly in the earth. A direct assault, though successful, would have been attended with dreadful loss.

Harrison at Kenesaw.

Then came the great day at Kenesaw.

Preliminary to that, on the 22d of June, Sherman advanced his right wing, and there was fighting all along the line.

Ward's division, on the left of Williams', was, as usual, occupied in fortifying their ground. To cover the working parties a number of batteries had been, as a precaution, planted in position to sweep an open field along which any interruption must come. In the afternoon the men in the trenches were brought to a pause; leaning upon their picks and shovels they waited for what a sudden opening of the guns in their front portended. Out of the woods they saw long lines of the enemy, closely massed, entering the open field which has been mentioned. Their appearance was very martial; their battle-flags were all waving; their yelp sharp and continuous, and

their forward movement with determined step. In a moment it was discovered that the order of things was reversed; the Confederates were the assailants. Dropping their tools the brigades instantly formed to receive them; but, as the foe poured across the open field directly against Williams' division, Ward's soldiers were left spectators of the fight. Hardly had the first line of the gray assailants appeared in the open field when the batteries, as with one report, poured a volley into them. Presently musketry was added to grape and canister, and the range became point blank. Still they would not go back or even stop. All that brave men could do they did; but there is a limit to the purest courage; a point at which it too is overtaken by the impossible. That point was at length reached. There was a slowing of the advance first; then a halt; and then a letting go, as it were, and an indiscriminate rush for the protection of the woods. The open field when deserted was terribly spotted with the dead and wounded.

Such was Hood's assault in the battle known as Kulp's Hill. The Confederates halted at the edge of the woods, and all day the 3d Division stood to arms on the verge of a battle. At noon a general advance was ordered. The works, scarcely finished, were abandoned. Moving forward in column the three brigades crossed an open field. Directly the cry was again raised

"forward," with the addition of "double-quick." The open field was passed; the lines disappeared in the woods beyond it; still under the "double quick" they issued from the pine trees which had concealed them, and, unmindful of the close fire with which the enemy saluted them, pushed on to be at length halted in reserve. And from the elevated position they thus occupied they witnessed the battle of Kenesaw Mountain.

The troops the division was to support were deployed in extension of the grand line stretched like a blue ribbon along the foot of the famous mountain. Occasionally a shell would strike the earth or burst in air uncomfortably near him; yet aware that a grand attack was ready to be delivered against the enemy, Colonel Harrison, with some of his officers, stood out to see all of it that was to be seen.

Sherman's description of the topography of the field is singularly picturesque:

"Kenesaw, the bold and striking twin mountain, lay before us with a high range of chestnut hills trending off to the northeast, terminating to our view in another peak called Brushy Mountain. To our right was the smaller hill called Pine Mountain, and beyond it in the distance Lost Mountain. All these, though links in a continuous chain, present a sharp, conical appearance, prominent in the vast landscape that presents itself from any of the hills that abound in that

region. Kenesaw, Pine Mountain and Lost Mountain form a triangle; Pine Mountain the apex, and Kenesaw and Lost Mountains the base, covering perfectly the town of Marietta and the railroad back to the Chattahoochie."

The scene offered Colonel Harrison is not often given to men. The Nationals were well defined from one wing to the other, a distance of fully ten miles. The three armies were in order of battle—McPherson's, Thomas' and Schofield's. All the low lands appeared dressed in blue haze. The mountains looked down upon them, serenely unconscious of the preparations going on to make them historical forever.

There were in sight unnumbered battalions with their flags fluttering above them; squadrons of cavalry hidden behind knolls; parks of artillery on the low summits—all fronting the one way.

With the help of glasses, the group with Harrison could see the hill-top which had been cleared expressly to enable Sherman to overlook the operation. It arose in the rear and near the centre of Thomas' part of the line. Telegraph wires ran from it to the headquarters of his three subordinate chiefs.

The interest in the battle was greater because it was a deliberately planned assault upon fortified lines—"a thing," as Sherman says, "carefully avoided up to that time."

KENNESAW MOUNTAIN.

Artillery firing began at daybreak. About 8.30 it ceased, and there was silence below and on the heights. Near 9 o'clock Sherman appeared on his lookout. Then all at once a fire of musketry and great guns broke out, and speedily a whitish curtain was visible along the whole ten miles of front.

Instantly the positions of the Confederates were similarly curtained. The wind, sweeping up the mountain, spread the smoke from the replying guns over its broad face so that the details upon it, the rocks, the ravines, the patches of pine groves, looked as though they were rapidly fading out.

Then a column was discovered pushing out toward the lesser Kenesaw from McPherson. A mile further to the right a like column advanced from Thomas. A mighty cheer burst from the comrades left in waiting, after which they all held their breath.

McPherson's column could not make the summit at which it had been directed. Every step upward was contested — every inch, in fact. Thomas' gained the parapet—that was all. Toil as they might, fight as they well knew how, both assaults stopped short. Refusing to retire, however, the regiments fell to and built parapets for themselves within a few yards of the rebel trenches. McPherson's loss was in the hundreds, Thomas' up in the thousands; though they could

not take the heights, the Nationals nevertheless kept their "grip" all the same.

On the morning of the 3d of July Johnston had bidden old Kenesaw good bye. The fox was "off with the wind" again.

HARRISON AT PEACH TREE CREEK.

We have already remarked that Colonel Harrison and Colonel John Coburn were fellow-townsmen, Indianapolis being their place of residence. We have also spoken of the good will existing between them. We take great pleasure in repeating the fact because of the rivalry, in many instances jealousy, existing between officers, especially those from the same locality. We have now to observe another example of the kindly relations between the two.

On the 20th of July, the 3d Division (Ward's) crossed Peach Tree creek two or three miles north of Atlanta; on its left was Newton's division of the 4th Corps, and on its right Geary's division of the 20th Corps. The whole Army of the Cumberland had crossed the creek the evening before or that morning. The creek bottom on the south side was from two to three hundred yards wide; the creek itself was muddy and seemed in a state of freshet. It was found to be unfordable. The pioneers of the 1st and 2d Divisions had accordingly constructed a bridge some distance down for the passage of the 1st

and 2d Divisions, and they crossed it immediately after Newton's. The formation of the line was then begun, because everybody was aware that the enemy was in force just in front and might attack at any minute.

The position chosen was upon the top of a ridge 300 or 400 yards from the creek on the south. The 1st Division, by order, remained in the creek bottom on a line some 300 yards to the rear of the remainder of the army, leaving a gap perhaps a quarter or a third of a mile in width between Geary on the right and Newton. It was the expectation that this gap would be filled by Ward. Exactly why he was not moved to the top of the ridge so as to perfect the line is not now known; the surmise was that Hooker, under whose order he remained below, did not wish to expose them unnecessarily. For, while the troops on the right and left of the gap were in the woods, the gap itself was in an open field extending clear to the rebel lines in front. Ward formed on the flat near the creek, and in front of him, looking in the direction of the enemy, there was a knoll, beyond that a higher slope, south of which was the open field stretching, as has been said, to the lines of the enemy. A little stream in Ward's front, trickling to a junction with Peach Tree creek, afforded water for an old mill and the intersection of the creeks on the right was slightly overlooked by a bluff covered with corn

nearly breast-high. In this position Harrison's brigade, like the others of his division, was resting, as the phrase goes, on arms; behind the musket-stacks some of the men were cooking and others sleeping. Occasionally a stray shot fired over the bluff would go whistling over the flat; but by this time the sound had become so familiar that little attention was paid to it. The cooks got their meals ready, the sleepers slept on.

Colonel Coburn, however, was restless and, wishing to see what was in front of him, rode to the top of the highest of the ridges. There he found a soldier by the name of Crist picking blackberries. He dismounted, and helped himself also. The bullets of the enemy's pickets pinged sometimes uncomfortably near. He warned Crist that if he stayed there he might get shot. Seeing all quiet apparently on the enemy's side, and the divisions on the right and left of the gap in place, and apparently at ease, Coburn returned to his camp below.

About the same time Harrison noticed some officers upon the edge of the same bluff, and wishing to see for himself the lay of things beyond, he too rode up to the summit, and found General Hooker there. The General was at the moment placing a battery in position; he recognized the Colonel and complimented him, saying that he liked to see an officer examine the field in advance of the fight. Upon his return, Harrison

extended his line far enough below his place on the height to fill it with the least delay. Then, at Coburn's suggestion, both brigades were moved forward from the flat to the little knoll in their front. There the men resumed their rest and their cooking.

It was not long until Crist, who had remained in the blackberry patch, came running over the larger crest and reported to Coburn that the whole rebel army was moving to attack. Coburn called his brigade to arms, mounted his horse, and rode in haste to report to Ward. On the way he stopped and notified Colonel Harrison of the appearance of things. Colonel Harrison called his brigade to arms also. Ward at first refused to believe the reported advance of the enemy, and said that Hooker's orders were for him to remain in the bottom where he was. Finally, however, he gave permission for Coburn and Harrison to move forward to the higher ridge. And, while they were in the act of doing so, the foremost line of the Confederates made its appearance. Colonel Harrison at once comprehended the danger. It was not merely that the higher ground was in possession of the enemy, but the gap in the Union line, a quarter of a mile in breadth, was also held by them. If they were quick to avail themselves of the advantage, the left of Newton's division and the right of Geary's were turned; and as a further result

the whole Army of the Cumberland was in exceeding great peril.

Hooker's order halting Ward's division in the creek bottom might consequently become a mistake with the most fatal consequences. In this emergency, without waiting for orders, Harrison gave command to his brigade, which, as we have already seen, was deployed, to forward double-quick. The rebels halted and opened fire. But without faltering Harrison led his line down the hollow before him, and began the ascent opposite. He was resolved, if the thing were possible, to push the enemy back, and form connection with Newton on his right. To succeed he of course depended upon quick support from Coburn and Wood, the latter in command of the 3d Brigade. Unmindful of the fire he made the ascent, though with loss, and closed with the enemy. Then upon the brow of the ridge a hand-to-hand encounter ensued, in which bayonets, clubbed muskets, and pistols were used, making the second instance of the kind within his experience. The men in the ranks were as keenly alive to the danger of the moment as their officers. They, too, possibly, saw the consequences of the mistake which had left them in the hollow. Probably officers were never better supported in the determination to do or die. So, when they came hand to hand with the enemy, being under the impetus of the charge, they were

irresistible. While the struggle was yet pending and in its full fury, Coburn, with his command, passed up the hill, and, entering the engagement, covered Harrison's exposed flank, and engaged the enemy along his whole front; then riding to Wood, who was standing at a halt, he suggested that he too advance up the hill. Wood replied at first that his orders were to stay where he was. But seeing the necessity he presently gave the order and, imitating the rush of the other brigades, left no cause of complaint with them.

In the flurry of the combat Colonel Harrison retained his mind perfectly. It happened that when the attack developed he had near one hundred men of a New York regiment in his front, detailed to help the skirmishers. They were specially selected because armed with Spencer repeating rifles. Time to return them to their command proper was too short. He cast about to make them useful, and seeing the old mill ordered them into it. They did excellent service there in aiding to hold the Confederates upon the brow of the hill while the brigades were rushing upward. Harrison says they held them stiff as ever he saw.

The battery which Hooker had put in position did well also. The guns grew burning hot while emptying grape and canister left-oblique into the enemy. At length the officer in charge withdrew them. As Harrison rode up the hill he met him retiring.

"What are you doing out here?" he asked.

"I am ordered to retire my battery to the rear of your division. Our right is broken," the other answered.

"Don't be afraid," said the Colonel. "I'll take care of your guns. Turn about and put them into action again."

And he did, returning to his first position.

Seeing the overlapping Confederates beginning to pour past his left he became fearful that that flank would be turned before Coburn could catch on to it, and sent his adjutant-general, Capt. Dunleary, of the 79th Ohio, to break some companies of the regiment on that extremity to the rear. The captain came back to him discouraged. "It's your regiment, the 70th," he said, "which should have been in reserve, but they have swung into the front line. I told the captain to reserve his left." He replied, "I can't see it. By God, I'm going to the top of the hill with the rest."*

It seemed at one time as if the division over on the right (Newton's) was broken. If so, Harrison's flank on that side would be swept away. That was the moment the battery limbered up to go to the rear, as has been stated. Its return to position reassured Newton's men, so that nobody ran away except the kitchen followers."

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* Capt. Endsley (70th Indiana), now residing in Shelby county, Ind.

The 1st Brigade, with the gallant Coburn and Wood on its left, gained the hill-top. Harrison saw the crisis of the fight was come. Pushing his horse into the melee he called to his men. They recognized him, and rushed on. Presently the signs improved. He beheld the assailants falling fast; their line wavered; now and then their colors dropped, but, though picked up in a twinkling, they no longer made headway. Finally they gave way, and were whirled down the hill on their side. Then the same thing ensued along the whole engaged front—before Coburn and Wood and Newton.

It was Hood's first attempt to break up Sherman's tactics. The point of attack had been well chosen. Loring, of the Confederates, had seen the gap between Geary and Newton, and thought to push into it. Had he succeeded it is difficult to say what the consequences would have been. Behind the Union line ran the unfordable creek. Altogether there was but one thing to be done, and providentially that was done.

A good many prisoners were taken. Many more wounded men were picked up in the cornfield; some of them were not found until the next day. The sun was overhot to well men. What must it have been to the torn fellows athirst and fainting in the scant shade of the young corn?

In the afternoon Hooker went riding along the lines, and coming to Harrison he congratulated him after his bluff style.

"By God," he said, "I'll make you a brigadier-general for this fight!"

And he meant what he said, for he afterwards addressed a letter to Secretary Stanton, of which the following is a copy:

HEAD-QUARTERS NORTHERN DEPARTMENT,
CINCINNATI, OHIO, October 31, 1864.

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War:*

I desire to call the attention of the department to the claims of Colonel Benjamin Harrison of the 70th Indiana Volunteers for promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General Volunteers.

Colonel Harrison first joined me in command of a brigade of Ward's division in Lookout Valley preparative to entering upon what is called the Campaign of Atlanta. My attention was first attracted to this young officer by the superior excellence of his brigade in discipline and instruction, the result of his labor, skill and devotion. With more foresight than I have witnessed in any officer of his experience, he seemed to act upon the principle that success depended upon the thorough preparation in discipline and esprit of his command for conflict, more than on any influence that could be exerted on the field itself, and when collision came his command vindicated his wisdom as much as his valor. In all of the achievements of the 20th Corps in that campaign Colonel Harrison bore a conspicuous part. At Resaca and Peach Tree Creek the conduct of himself and command was especially distinguished. Colonel Harrison is an officer of superior abilities, and of great professional and personal worth. It gives me great pleasure to commend him favorably to the Honorable Secretary, with the assurance that his preferment will be a just recognition of his services and martial accomplishments.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOOKER, *Major-General Commanding.*

HARRISON AT THE BATTLE OF NASHVILLE.

Sherman started from Chattanooga in pursuit of Joe Johnston on the 5th of May, 1864, and in the morning of the 2d of September following his army took possession of Atlanta. The telegram

announcing the capture reached Grant at City Point about 10 o'clock at night, and the rejoicing at head-quarters was loud and long. The good soldier sat silent some time; at last he turned to his adjutant-general, and said: "This is a great triumph, and we will honor it as we can. Send a telegram to the corps commanders in our lines here, and tell them to have all their guns loaded and shotted, and trained upon the enemy, and at 12 o'clock sharp open fire."

At 12 o'clock sharp the first gun was fired from Bermuda Hundreds; then all the others, five hundred at least, joined in "the loud acclaim." The Confederates, aroused and angry, took to their batteries, and replied, and as they would not quit, the sun came up on the great duel. Thus they, too, unconsciously united in the honors rendered.

Down at Atlanta the rejoicing was equally fervid, if not so noisy. Feeling that his troops had earned a rest, Sherman gave it to them. On his own part a new campaign was to be determined upon and arranged. A great many officers availed themselves of the opportunity to go home on furlough. About that time Colonel Harrison received an order of which the following is a copy.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI.
IN THE FIELD, ATLANTA, GA., September 12, 1864.

SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS, No. 71. } *Extract.*

III. Pursuant to instructions from the War Department the following

officers will report in person to Hon. O. P. Morton, Governor of Indiana, at Indianapolis, Indiana, for special duty. The Quartermaster's Department will furnish transportation.

By order of MAJ-GEN'L W. T. SHERMAN.
L. M. DAYTON, *Aide-de-Camp.*

COL. BEN. HARRISON,
70th Reg't Ind. Inf. Vol.

For two years Colonel Harrison had been continuously in the field, and, as the order afforded him an opportunity to visit his family in Indianapolis, it was accepted. Upon his arrival there he reported to Governor Morton, and then ascertained for the first time the character of the special duty awaiting him. In a few days he entered upon a systematic canvass of the State for recruits, who, greatly to the apprehension of the Governor, had been slow in offering themselves.

Upon the 9th of November, Colonel Harrison finished the canvass. Having in the meantime heard that Sherman's preparations were complete for the opening of a new campaign, he made haste to rejoin his command; and, but for the failure of a hack to make connection with a south-going train at Indianapolis, he would have reached Atlanta in time to have participated in the celebrated march to the sea, which was begun on the 15th of November. Taking the next train, however, he got as far on the journey as Dalton, Georgia, where, unfortunately, or fortunately, as the case may be, he found the railroad torn up, making further progress for the time impossible.

MARCHING THROUGH GEORGIA.

While at Dalton, he was ordered to report to General Charles Cruft at Chattanooga, and by him was put in command of troops of the 20th Army Corps cut off and assembled at that city. He found himself presently at the head of a brigade. Shortly afterwards, in imitation of Sherman's bold departure from Atlanta, for the sea, Hood swung around, and crossed the Tennessee river *en route* to the North; whereupon Colonel Harrison with his brigade was transferred to Nashville. There he was assigned to Cruft's division of Steadman's command, then holding the left of the defenses of the city. As an attack by Hood was imminent, the Colonel proceeded without loss of time to prepare for it. He erected a breastwork covering the entire front of his line. It became necessary, in course of the work, to cut across the yard of Judge Trimble, just outside that gentleman's kitchen. As the Judge was vacating his house Colonel Harrison waited upon him to express regrets; but the other took him into his library, and, opening a drawer, pulled out a very handsome bunting flag. "Have you a garrison flag?" he asked. The Colonel replied that he had not. "Then let me present you with this one. I have never been without the American flag in my house." And proceeding, he added, "Colonel, if it is necessary for the defense of Nashville, take the bottom brick in my house." Of that speech the Colonel remarked to the writer enthusias-

tically, "Well, I fought like a tiger for that man's land."

The days following were stirring enough. For, amongst other peculiarities, Steadman was never satisfied unless the enemy were stirred up every morning, and everything within eyesight sounded to know what it was.

While thus occupied, Harrison had an excellent opportunity to observe the colored troops. On one occasion Colonel T. J. Morgan, now living at Providence, Rhode Island, took his brigade composed entirely of negroes, deployed them as skirmishers, and, pushing them forward, drove the rebels out of their pits; by bugle call he brought them back with many prisoners. Their skill and courage made the affair a perfect demonstration. General Cruft used to tell a story of them.

A colored soldier one day brought in a white prisoner, and being interrogated, he told the story of the capture. He said:

"I just cum up on him, and brought down my gun arter this like, and he knowed what it meant; he say,

"'Say, now, I can't surrender to a nigger. Dad would kill me when I go home; but you go back to de camp, and git a white sojer, and bring him out hyar, and I'll surrender to him.'

"'No,' I says, 'scuse me; I'se in a dre'ful hurry; jess come 'long.' And thar he is" (pointing to the prisoner); "I fotched him."

While the enemy was before the city, the very morning Thomas was to have moved out to attack him, a storm of snow and sleet came on. The earth turned to a sheet of ice, and remained so for some days. The suffering of the soldiery was intense; some of them actually died on the picket lines, and a great many were so bitten with frost that they never recovered. It is of this bitter spell that Mr. Richard M. Smock, of Indianapolis, tells his story.

"We were encamped near Nashville, and as all who were there at the time remember, it was one of the coldest winters on record. I remember that during one of the cold nights I was on picket, and I saw a man approaching from the direction of the officers' quarters. I halted him, and when he gave the countersign and advanced, I saw it was General (then Colonel) Harrison. He had a large can filled with hot coffee, and when I asked him what he was doing, he said he was afraid that some of the pickets would freeze to death, and he knew some hot coffee would help the men to keep alive. He was the most welcome visitor I ever met, for I really believe I would have frozen before morning had not the coffee been brought. After leaving me, the General passed on to all the other pickets to cheer them up with the beverage. His act was one of kindness. The men on duty were nearly all from his regiment, and his personal friendship for them induced him to get up out of

his comfortable quarters at dead of night, prepare that coffee and bring it to us."

General Grant in the East did not seem to appreciate the condition. To move artillery and cavalry was simply impossible. Instantly that the weather moderated, however, General Thomas put his army in motion. Harrison was in reserve, and as the battle was a splendid success from the beginning, he was but little engaged. After the fight the reserves were sent in pursuit.

With a view to reaching the Tennessee river before Hood, and cutting his pontoons and otherwise intercepting his retreat, Colonel Harrison was ordered to march to Murfreesboro, and there take trains and push forward with the utmost speed. He entered upon the duty with alacrity. From Murfreesboro southward the Confederates had burned all the wood piles and destroyed the water tanks. The delay thus caused was serious. An idea of the difficulties encountered may be formed from the resorts to which the pursuers were driven. Details of ax-men chopped up rails to feed the engine; at the creeks buckets were used to fill the tanks with water. Huntsville was at last reached. Then to gain the Tennessee river where boats were in waiting to ferry the column over it was necessary to take to the roads, which were often bottomless with mud. The streams had all to be crossed by wading. At the river the other side was found in possession of the rebels.

The crossing was effected in face of a hostile battery, after which the pursuit was continued to Decatur, and as far down as Courtland, Alabama. The cavalry below the former place succeeded in striking Hood's pontoon bridge and the rear of his army; but the infantry never caught sight of him. Thus furnishing another example of the futility of sending footmen to overtake horsemen.

Upon the recall of the pursuing column Colonel Harrison was ordered to report to General Sherman at Savannah. And while en route to New York he was taken down with scarlet fever. After several weeks of dangerous illness, over the objections of his physicians he took steamer for Savannah.

In the meantime Sherman had proceeded on his way and was up in the Carolinas when Harrison reached Hilton Head. At Pocotaligo the latter was put in command of a brigade with which he soon joined Sherman at Goldsboro. There he resumed command of his old brigade of the 3d Division of the 20th Army Corps. There also he heard of the assassination of President Lincoln. Intelligence of the disclaimer of Sherman's negotiations with Johnston threw the army into yet greater excitement, and before Grant arrived at Goldsboro the truce agreed upon with Johnston having expired, Sherman started to attack him. With that object he made one day's march. Fortunately Grant effected a new arrange-

ment with Johnston and the contemplated battle was not fought. The army was then directed upon Washington. At Richmond it was halted for several days and preparations made for a review by General Hancock. Sherman, however, came up and declared the ceremony off. So that, as the corps went through Richmond they marched with arms at a right shoulder shift, without saluting anything but the American flag and the statue of George Washington.

At Washington Colonel Harrison and his command were put in camp near Bladensburg, whence they took part in the grand review which is the final reminiscence of the great rebellion.

Meantime Colonel Harrison received a promotion. The rank of Brigadier-General by brevet was conferred upon him. The commission is signed by Abraham Lincoln and countersigned by E. W. Stanton, Secretary of War. It is dated March 22, 1865, and states that it was given "for ability and manifest energy and gallantry in command of the brigade," and also that he was to rank as such Brevet Brigadier-General from the 23d day of January of the year mentioned. The certificate of discharge shows a muster out of the service of "Benjamin Harrison, Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General, 70th Regiment of Indiana Infantry Volunteers; that he was enrolled on the 7th day of August, 1862, to serve three years or during the war, and discharged on the

INDIANA SEVENTIETH IN THE SWAMPS OF GEORGIA.

8th day of June, 1865, at Washington, D. C., by reason of General Order 77, Adjutant-General's office, 1865, and instructions, Adjutant-General's office, May 20, 1865."

Throughout the foregoing narrative of General Harrison's military services the writer has purposely refrained from expressions of opinion respecting them; it was greatly preferable, he thought, to present the circumstances, and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions from them. Probably no people in the world know better than Americans the qualities that enter into the composition of a soldier; none admire more such characteristics as courage, enterprise, persistence and judgment, without which, by universal agreement, there can be no perfect officer. But as every distinguished military man, like every distinguished citizen, has a personality, it is thought the following anecdotes may be as useful as they are interesting. Each of them, it will be observed, is referable to a person of known respectability; under them all lie glimpses of that part of a man not possible of clearer definition than his *moral qualities*. Under a rough exterior there may be a tender soul; on the other hand, mildness of manner is often a disguise. How shall we know our nearest neighbor except by what he does?

Mr. Richard M. Smock, from whom we have the instance already related of Harrison's carrying coffee to his men on picket, says further: "I re-

member that on the 14th of May, the day before the battle of Resaca, our regiment was ordered to advance through a strip of woodland which ended at the foot of a hill. On the brow of an opposite hill were the rebels, and the position we were ordered to take put us in direct range of their guns. We were subjected to a terrific fire, and as we could see no reason why we should occupy such an exposed position, many of us wanted to fall back. General Harrison was with us, on foot, at the head of the column, and he said we would obey orders and stay there, if we died. Our ranks were thinned by the bullets of the enemy, but we held our position, and General Harrison never left his advanced post."

Ex-County-Clerk M. G. McLain, a well-known soldier who lost his right arm at Resaca while following General Harrison's lead, says of him: "No man was dearer to the boys in the line than General Harrison, and it rose from one single element in the man's character—his determination to take the leading part in whatever he asked his men to do. I shall never forget the sight I had of him waving his sword and shouting in that shrill voice for which he was noted: 'Come on, boys!'" Continuing, he said: "One scene has always lived in my memory. Our old Chaplain, Allen, a man who was beloved by all the boys, and for whom almost every man in the regiment would have lost his life, conducted services on

Sunday, with General Harrison, then Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sam Merrill assisting. I have often heard General Harrison offer up the prayer for the boys' welfare and protection down there on those Southern fields, so far away from home, and many times have heard him address the boys in place of the chaplain. Never to my knowledge, in all the trying times of war, did I see one thing from him unbecoming a Christian. I think the battle-field and the camp bring out what there is in a man about as well as anything can, and I have seen General Harrison tested in every way. As a soldier, courageous, sympathetic and enduring, the army had no better."

Being asked about him as a disciplinarian Mr. McLain added: "Going out as he did, a civilian, and without any military training whatever, he became one of the closest students of the science and art of war there was in the army. As he does in everything else, he threw his whole heart into the work of making himself a proficient officer and his regiment a well-disciplined body of men. And he succeeded in an eminent degree in both instances. He was a very sympathetic man. Whenever a soldier was hurt in the discharge of his duty none was readier to offer sympathy than he. And as a result of this trait of his character, he always looked after the welfare of his regiment with scrupulous care. He never went to bed at night without knowing that the boys were going

to have as good a breakfast as could be secured in the morning. You may rest assured that these were favors that were appreciated."

William H. Cooper, of Minor & Cooper, grain dealers, Indianapolis, telling of General Harrison at Peach Tree Creek, says: "On the Atlanta campaign Harrison's regiment one day crossed a small bridge over a sluggish stream and advanced through an open field toward a neighboring crest. While they were in the field the pickets just over the hill came flying back, being driven in by the advance of the rebels in force. Harrison's regiment, and the others making up the brigade, pressed rapidly up toward the crest, and when they reached the top they met the enemy face to face. It was a fierce struggle to see who could hold the commanding position, and the fight became fierce and bloody, a hand-to-hand encounter in which soldiers on each side thrust bayonets and clubbed each other with muskets. In the midst of this I was sent back by the captain of my company to bring up a load of ammunition, the wagons being five or six hundred feet back towards the bridge. With me was Charley Jenkins, who now resides here. We went back, secured the ammunition, and were slowly toiling toward the front with the heavy load. Just at that time the rebels captured a battery on the Union right, and turned the guns on our men. It looked like disaster, indeed, and doubly so because the mule trains, close

in the rear of the troops, were filling up the road and clogging the bridge in a way that made a stampede imminent. Just then I saw General Harrison riding up and down right in front of the line, waving his sword and calling on the boys to stand their ground. Nothing but such an example on the part of the commander could have held the troops. They retook their battery, and prevented what looked at one time to be disaster and complete ruin."

Mr. Cooper also states that "While sick in the hospital at Gallatin, Tenn., General Harrison came and called on me, and in a few days, to my surprise, secured me a furlough and had me sent home. This was only one of many acts of kindness he was constantly doing for his men. No officer in the service was more thoughtful and considerate of his troops than General Harrison."

Captain P. S. Carson, of Southport, Ind., who commanded Company G, of the 70th Indiana Regiment, in the battle of Resaca, relates an incident of that fearful day: "The battle had closed, leaving Company G in possession of a captured battery, taken in the charge which the 70th led, and the report had gone back to headquarters that of the five killed in the company I was one, and of the twenty-two wounded that Dan Ransdell and Mose McLain were among the number. These men were personal friends of General Har-

rison, and he was greatly moved when the sad news came to him. Later in the evening he learned that I was unhurt, and he sent to me to come to headquarters. I went, and was met by General Harrison, who, with tears in his eyes, shook my hand and congratulated me on my escape, and tenderly inquired after the individual men in my company who were wounded. In every way possible he showed the deepest interest in the welfare of my soldiers. Hence I have always regarded him as a very sympathetic man. As a commander he was a strict disciplinarian, but he was always just; and this trait of character, together with his great bravery, made him a great favorite with all under him."

General John Coburn, of whom mention has been repeatedly made, speaking of General Harrison at Peach Tree Creek, says: "Line after line of rebels came over the ridge toward us. On the left of my brigade they met with no resistance until I rode to Colonel Woods and asked him to advance, which he did, losing very heavily and filling up the gap towards the 4th Corps. About this time Harrison and his men on our right rose up, and charged up hill with terrific power. My brigade was not slow to get up and rush forward. The rebels came down hill into and through our ranks pell-mell, dropping their arms and surrendering. Woods continued his advance on the left, and soon the ridge was ours. Harrison was

the personification of fiery valor, with voice and gesture urging on the furious charge. We could see the divisions on our right and left giving way in apparent confusion; a regiment was surprised on the right with their arms in the stack; a battery was captured, and, on the left, a host of fugitives scattered toward the rear. But our advance seemed to give them encouragement—they rallied and retook their lines. Our soldiers all got a supply of new Enfield rifles on the field; the gun-straps were not soiled. I never saw on any battle-field dead and wounded in such numbers and so close together. It was a complete surprise to us all. Hood had just that day taken command with orders to fight, and fight at once and all the time. Johnston, by his caution, had made us careless. We were not looking for such a mad rush. No man in the army that night stood higher than Harrison for heroism. Had he been a West Pointer his promotion would have been ordered by telegraph."

Mr. Daniel Watts, of Oregon City, was in the same brigade with General Harrison, and says of him: "You want to know about Harrison's career as a soldier? Well, I belonged to Company A of the 129th Illinois, under Colonel Case, and our regiment was stationed in the spring of 1864 near Chattanooga, and with the 105th and the 102d Illinois, the 79th Ohio, and the 70th Indiana, constituted the 1st Brigade of the 3d Division of the

20th Army Corps, with General Ward, of Kentucky, as brigade commander. Harrison was colonel of the 70th Indiana, and Fighting Joe Hooker had command of the Corps. In May we were encamped in a broken and hilly country. On Saturday the 4th Corps attacked a battery commanding the line of march that Sherman wished to make to Atlanta, and was repulsed. The following day the 1st Brigade, to which I belonged, was moved around into Snake Run gap to the side of a mountain, where we unslung knapsacks. On the mountain was the masked battery of four guns, before which, in intrenchments, lay the enemy in force, completely protected by their fortifications. General Ward gave the order to 'fix bayonets and charge.' As we marched up, five regiments strong, with fixed bayonets, the balls were so thick that I can compare them to nothing but a swarm of bees when they dive at you. Straight up hill we rushed with an Indian war-whoop, over the works and up to the guns without firing a shot. As the foremost man reached the battery one of the gunners was on the point of touching the match to a gun when he was run through with a bayonet by a soldier of the 102d Illinois and forced to the ground. So thick were we hemmed in by the gap that the discharge of that gun would probably have killed 500 of our men. This shows the cool bravery of those engaged on both sides. When we went

CAPTURING THE BATTERY.

into the fort Colonel Harrison and Colonel Case of my own regiment went into the works with us. In taking the gap the brigade had pushed ahead of the body of the troops, and the Johnnies were enabled to surround the fort and hem us in, and they tried for hours to retake the battery. When Hooker saw the troops in that advanced position he said: 'There's a brigade gone to hell!' but from two o'clock in the afternoon till after midnight the colonels, in charge of the regiments and fighting with the soldiers, held the works against repeated desperate charges by the rebels. At 2 A. M. the Union line was advanced far enough to drive the enemy back, and in the morning the rebels were gone. Whilst in the fort we had to hug the fortifications mighty close, I tell you, for the bullets were as thick as hail. And when the Johnnies got too close, we would rise and give them a volley which would repulse them, then we would drop behind the breastwork. When the rebels saw they could not drive us from our position they fired the woods through which we had forced our way, and where the dead and wounded of both forces lay, burning over the field of battle where lay so many suffering men. My companion was shot from my side, and as he dropped I turned to him, but he said, 'Go on; don't stop for me,' and I passed along. The next day I found him with the clothes all burned off and the flesh of one side all roasted, and in places

Colonel Samuel Merrill, of Indianapolis, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 70th Regiment, now living in Indianapolis, says of him: "In the march he was merciful, protesting against unnecessary haste. Frequently he would take the guns and accoutrements of some poor worn-out fellows and carry them before him on the saddle. Often I have seen him dismount and walk, while a sick soldier occupied his place on the horse. Those who were ill in the field hospital testify that they were not forgotten by their kind commander, but that he was deeply interested in their recovery, constantly making inquiries as to their welfare and suggestions for their comfort. He protected the private soldier from imposition by those in authority, as a father would his own children. Once when we had been cut off from our supplies for a long time the men became so ragged that it was pitiful to see them. At last a partial stock was received by the quartermaster. Some of the officers appropriated the pantaloons to their own use. As soon as this was known General Harrison compelled these lordly fellows to strip and turn the clothing over to the rightful owners. If at any time he felt that he had wronged one, his sense of justice gave him no rest until he had repaired the injury. He did not have a code of morals to be observed at home and neglected abroad, but there was the same purity of conduct and conversation while a soldier in the field as

when a citizen going through the daily round of duties."

Captain H. A. Ford, according to the Detroit *Tribune*, says of Harrison: "I came to know him well. Indeed, I was indebted to his kind offices for the most interesting military association I had as adjutant and chief of staff to the celebrated Irish refugee, General Thomas Francis Meagher. Harrison was a thoroughly kind and good man, very popular with his command and a very large army acquaintance. He was an able and courageous officer, and I have no doubt that his prompt, well-directed action saved the day at Peach Tree Creek at a critical moment of the Atlanta campaign. But for him I think our army on that field would have been cut in two, and at least one wing of it rolled up and badly shattered. The first onset fell where Harrison was, and he, divining at once the character of the attack and the need of immediate resistance, came dashing down the hill on his splendid charger, riding down bodily a partly barred gate as he flew, and, without an instant's hesitancy for orders, moved his brigade to the top of a short but sharp slope, at whose foot it had been halted, and forward until the enemy was met, as he was almost at once. Other troops connected speedily on the right and left, and here the impetuous rebel advance was stayed once for all. But I have always felt that if it had had the advantage of a charge down

that slope upon our unprepared lines they would have been driven in hopeless disorder into and across the deep stream in our rear, and the battle would, in all probability, have been lost. Harrison was the hero of Peach Tree Creek, which made him a brigadier. He was the senior field officer in the brigade at the previous battle of Resaca, bore himself gallantly in one of the most desperate and deadly charges of history, that which captured the redoubt and four guns, and took command of the forces after General Ward had been wounded and retired from the field."

Mr. Arthur Deeter, of Terre Haute, carries in his body several buckshot received from a Confederate gun. The *Express* of that city furnishes the subjoined statement from Mr. Deeter: "He (Deeter) met General Harrison immediately after the battle of Nashville. He was lying in a fence corner, having been pierced by a ball from the enemy. An officer came along, and, seeing his condition, gave him a blanket to make him as comfortable as possible. He asked him how badly he was hurt and Deeter told him. The officer said: 'Then you will be sent to the hospital; you will need some money; here are twenty dollars,' and handed over the money. 'Who are you?' inquired Deeter. 'I am Ben Harrison.' The wounded man was taken to the hospital and recovered. Afterwards he participated in the Atlanta campaign, and was again wounded. He

never forgot Harrison's kindness. He was in Indianapolis a few years ago, and went into Senator Harrison's office, and handed him over twenty dollars, and said: 'I owe you twenty dollars.' And he proceeded to narrate the circumstance that occurred at Nashville. Harrison recalled the incident, and warmly greeted him. 'You don't owe me a cent; you keep the money. I will not have it. I did you a kindness, and I have been repaid amply by seeing you still alive,' said the Senator. The conversation was at once changed to war reminiscences."

Of a similar character is the following narration from Andrew A. Buchanan, formerly a sergeant of Company A, 70th Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry: "Seeing the report of Comrade Deeter in the *Journal* of the 16th instant, stating that General Harrison had found him on the field of battle a total stranger, but a seriously wounded, suffering comrade, and said to him, after inquiring about his wounds, and finding he must go to the hospital, 'You will need money; here are twenty dollars,' reminds me of his treatment of my brother, James M. Buchanan, who was Captain of Company D, 79th Regiment Indiana Volunteers, who was wounded in the battle of Chickamauga. I was notified by General Harrison (then Colonel Harrison) of my brother's condition, and ordered to report at his head-quarters. On my arrival, while only a sergeant, yet I found

he had one of his own horses saddled and bridled, that I might go to my brother at once. As I rode away, he said: 'Tell the captain I wont be long behind you.' I had only reached my brother's bedside when Colonel Harrison and Captain Harry Scott, our captain, arrived. Colonel Harrison came to my brother's cot, and after an earnest, cordial and sympathetic greeting he said: 'Captain, you are badly wounded, and must get home. You have been at the front, and, of course, have no money. Here are a hundred dollars; take it and get home.' This money enabled my brother to reach home and comfort. And yet there are men who say that General Harrison is cold and unsympathetic. But, thank God, we who served under him in the army, and witnessed his indomitable courage in battle, and his constant, considerate self-sacrificing care for his men, know that a baser falsehood was never uttered."

Other testimony to the same effect might be offered in abundance. But it is thought those here furnished are amply sufficient to satisfy any reasonable disinterested gentleman as to the points they severally and collectively cover.

With them we pass from the military portion of General Harrison's career.

DEATH OF GENERAL M'PHERSON, BEFORE ATLANTA, GA.

CHAPTER V.

THE POLITICIAN.

THE best evidence of genuine popular liberty is the existence of political parties. They are in fact the organized expression of opinion permissible only in a state of freedom. Some years ago the Sultan of Turkey called to Constantinople a kind of States-General. He made elaborate preparations for the sessions. Representative of nobody, the members met by his *iradé* or decree. Within ten days they began to talk; in the third week differences of opinion were developed; about the end of the first month he sent them all home. It did not consist with his government that a subject should think aloud. He was more than the majority in the empire. He could afford to tolerate but one speaker and one party—himself.

English history long ago established that, though the utmost freedom may prevail, a political party cannot be manufactured, like a barrel, a loom or a boat. American history confirms the experience, and more—we now know that such a party cannot succeed upon a question of morals purely and singly. The party must be a necessity of

politics, which are as distinguishable from morals as the first letter of the alphabet is distinguishable from the last. This is not saying that there should not be good morals in politics; it is saying that political parties are the natural output of political conditions.

All the great parties known to American history prove this—the Federal, the Democratic, the Whig, the Republican, all prove it. In their days almost numberless organizations in opposition to them singly and collectively have been attempted; such, amongst others, were the Anti-Whiskey party, that culminated in the administration of Washington, the Anti-Federation party, which fell to pieces in the Hartford Convention, the Anti-Masonic party, the American party, the Know-Nothing party. Each died, and died early, in instances because there was but the beveled edge of a plank for them to live upon; more plainly, because there was no necessity for them.

Probably the very finest illustration of the philosophy of the origin of political parties in the United States is furnished by the Republican party. The idea is very common that it was a graft upon the stalk of the Whig party. Few things are more untrue. Let us see.

On the 8th day of August, 1846, one David Wilmot, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, moved a proviso to a pending bill, affirming it "an express and fundamental condition to the

acquisition of any territory from Mexico, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist therein."

This was the entering wedge between the North and the South. Both the Democratic and Whig parties opposed it in their national conventions, and of *that* opposition the Whig party died effectually and forever. The Democratic party survived because both parties in the South united against the proviso. The "Solid South" of to-day is absolutely referable to that union. On the other hand, the North divided upon the issue. There the slavery question became the sole question. Should the Territories be Free or Slave? Such was its form. Men opposed to the extension of slavery—Barnburners, Anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats, Abolitionists—refused to trust the Whig leaders longer. General Taylor was elected; but his tomb is the tomb of his party. His inaugural recommendation that California be admitted with her free Constitution had not enough of saving grace in it. The South grew more solid than ever. Compromises only intensified the dispute. In 1852 out of a total of 296 electors General Scott, the Whig candidate for the Presidency, received but 42. The triumph of the Democracy meant the extension of slavery.

There was but one resort to stop the consummation of the crime—a New Party—and straightway all differences were smothered. A fusion

took place, out of which—out of the necessity of the hour, the necessity of saving the Territories to Freedom—the Republican party was born.

It is fair to observe next that, contrary to a growing idea, the Republican party did not propose the abolition of slavery, in the sense of interference with it in the States of which it was *then* an existing institution. With a just appreciation of the necessity calling them to organize, the delegates of the first nominating convention, held at Philadelphia June 17, 1856, Colonel Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, presiding, resolved, "that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it, for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence and extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any *Territory of the United States*, while the present Constitution shall be maintained."

They also *resolved*, "That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that, in the exercise of this power, it

is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit *in the Territories* those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy and Slavery."

That Abolitionists took part in the Philadelphia convention is undeniable, but that the party then and there representatively assembled was an Abolition party is equally untrue. Its design was the prevention of Slavery in the Territories, not its abolition in the States already Slave.

The Second National Republican Convention for nomination assembled at Chicago, Ill., May 16, 1860. The party had by that time advanced from its experimental condition, wherefore the first clause of its platform—"That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and *necessity* of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party; and that *the causes which called it into existence* are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph."

In those four years a new necessity for the Republican party had arisen. The Democratic party hastened in 1846 to maintain the Southern assertion that the Territories belonged to all the States, and that by virtue of that right owners of slaves from the slave States had a constitutional right to remove with their slaves to the Territories, and be protected in the enjoyment of their *property* therein. This declaration of principle

by the leading Democratic Convention of 1860 (held at the Maryland Institute, Baltimore, June 28th), perfected the joinder of issue between the Republican party and the Democratic party.

The Popular Sovereignty doctrine of Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, had been already done to death by the passage in the Senate of the United States of the famous resolution—"That neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature, whether by direct legislation or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly character, possesses power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common Territories, and there hold and enjoy the same while the territorial condition remains."

The resolution derived effect from its passage by a majority of thirty-five yeas to twenty-one nays, all the Democratic senators present voting for it but one.

The new necessity for the Republican party is presented in the third clause of the platform adopted at the Chicago Convention: "3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation in wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for Disunion, come from whatever source they may."

The result was that, as early as 1860, the eighth year of its existence as an organization, the Republican party was the champion of the Union as against all comers whatsoever. On the flag it bore in the canvass of 1860 was the double inscription—FREE TERRITORIES AND THE UNION. And Abraham Lincoln was chosen President to execute those principles, then distinctively Republican. Be it remembered also that as principles, they had one chief opponent—the Democratic party. And, in the way of special application, be it further remembered that, in common with the National soldiery, constituting the noblest army the world ever saw, in arms the most capable, to principle the most devoted, the military services of Benjamin Harrison which we have tried to describe were rendered.

Continuing the history—

Secession followed the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency—then a distinctive Southern government—then war. And the Union would certainly have been destroyed but for Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party.

It may not be said that the armies that fought for the Union were all Republican. There were thousands of Democrats, with whom love of country was more potent than party affiliations on the one hand, or party prejudices on the other —thousands of them to range themselves under the old flag and share its triumphs and defeats.

Nevertheless the responsibility of the struggle was upon the Republicans; a Republican President undertook the enforcement of the laws; the ways and means to assist him were discovered by Republicans; financial affairs during the period were administered by Republican officials, and money voted by a Republican majority in Congress to feed, clothe and pay the soldiers. When a Democratic National Convention solemnly resolved the war a failure, the Republicans answered by re-electing Mr. Lincoln. At last the end came, and there was great glory, and the historian of the future, having to pronounce upon the subject, will give it all to the Republican party.

The reconstruction consequent upon the return of peace was complicated by questions of infinite gravity. What, under the Constitution, was the status of the States which had gone into secession? What treatment should be accorded those who had been captured arms in hand? What the policy to be pursued toward the millions of slaves who had been the innocent cause of the struggle? The debt accumulated had to be provided for—but how? The maimed and disabled living soldier and his family, and the orphans and widows of the dead—impoverished and helpless—called for the most tender care. Many of these questions were settled, some by generous laws, others by constitutional amendments. The burthen of this settlement fell upon Republican representatives.

Whether the policy pursued by them was wise or unwise, it was founded in justice, and upon a recognition of the rights of men. That not a drop of blood was shed in expiation of a treason of such magnitude and cost in blood and treasure, is an example of Christian charity the like of which is unknown in the history of governments. During the pendency of the issues of reconstruction, General Harrison, as a citizen, made many speeches, all in harmony with the settlement as it was finally arranged. It is not possible to recall or quote a sentence or a word from any one of them which is in the least vindictive. Treating of the Confederate soldier, he was respectful and forgiving. The manumitted negroes were with him objects of compassion and sympathy, who were to be led up out of the depths of slavery by the hand gently, kindly, patiently, as prisoners long unused to light are led out of rough and darkened cells.

There were a few questions upon which the Republican party took side in its earliest platforms which remained unsettled through the war, and are yet bones of party contention. Such were the sale of the public lands to actual settlers, and a proper policy for providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports.

Besides that, some of the issues supposed to have been finally and forever settled in course of the reconstruction, have arisen in new forms to

vex statesmen of the present. These pertain largely to civil rights and pensions.

Others exist that are entirely new, such as limitations to immigration, education, adjustments between capital and labor, coast defenses, the rehabilitation of the navy, the forfeiture to the general government of lands donated in aid of railroads, the distribution of the surplus accumulated in the national treasury, the currency, the gross disfranchisement of colored voters in certain of the Southern States, the admission of Territories into the Union, etc. Upon most, if not all, these questions General Harrison has had occasion in the course of his political life to define his position; and a biography of him would be inexcusably imperfect if it failed to give the reader a view of his opinions in the connection.

Before taking them up, however, a narrative of his political life is logically due.

General Harrison began as a stump speaker under circumstances that were not very exciting. His first essay was in nowise distinguishable from the first essays of young men generally. Unknown as he was he could hardly expect great audiences. In 1855 his law partner, Mr. William Wallace, being a candidate for clerk of Marion county, he took to the stump to help him. The first meeting he addressed was at Acton, on the line of the Big Four Road, better known as the road from Cincinnati to Indianapolis. The depot

building, with the narrow platform such as were common in those days, was made available for the purpose. He stood on the railroad track between the rails, while his audience—fifteen or twenty persons in all—occupied the platform. Neither does it appear that he complained of want of attention, or of want of preparation for his own accommodation or that of his hearers; and as to that, the "crowd," in point of numbers, was quite satisfactory to him.

His efforts brought him reputation, for in the same year a gentleman by the name of Campbell, then a Republican candidate for clerk in Shelby county, invited him to go down and do some stumping for him. It is reported that he had a good many good meetings there. And not long afterwards, in the same county, he had a joint discussion with Mr. Martin M. Ray, who was on the other side of politics, and subsequently acquired considerable reputation as a debater and orator.

In 1856 the Fremont campaign came on. There was much political excitement. The election of a President of the United States furnished a broader theme to an ambitious speaker than the election of a county clerk. The news having reached Indianapolis of the nomination of the great "Pathfinder," the Republicans of the city turned out spontaneously to ratify it. There was no programme for the affair. The speakers were such as could be reached upon the spur of the moment.

General Harrison was one of those impressed into service for the occasion. He was in his law office at night after supper, doing some work, when W. W. Roberts, a druggist of the city, and some other gentlemen, came in and said that they were having a ratification meeting at the old Bee Hive corner, and that he must come and make a speech. He said he would not go; he did not know what to say, it was all so sudden. But they insisted, and finally picked him up—he was not very heavy in those days—put their arms about him, bore him down-stairs, and kept on with him, his feet never touching the ground, until they put him on a store box that had been rolled out into the street at the corner. Upon readjusting himself after the unceremonious shaking up, he found himself surrounded by a crowd of three or four hundred people. There was no way out of the affair but to speak; accepting the situation, he proceeded and did his best. That the speech was a success, and brought him reputation and friends, may be inferred from the fact that in the same campaign he was first in demand in the schoolhouses through the country. Indeed, as a speaker, he was from that time a general favorite.

As we have seen in the chapter relating to him as a lawyer, General Harrison was in 1860 nominated for Reporter of the Supreme Court. Thereupon, of course, he was inducted into a broader field and entered upon a canvass of the State.

With Colonel Cyrus M. Allen, of Vincennes, a nominee for Congress, he worked what is known as the "Pocket" district thoroughly. The political feeling was intense, and it is said that in some of the Democratic counties the question whether Republican meetings should be allowed at all was quite serious. His stumping in company with Mr. Fletcher, Republican candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction, has also been mentioned; while his joint meeting with Mr. Hendricks at Rockville has been described with particularity. So, too, the reader will remember General Harrison's renomination for Reporter of the Supreme Court and his re-election in 1864.

Three years afterwards, however, finding that he would either have to abandon his profession or the office which he was holding, he declined a renomination. He took part nevertheless in the campaigns of 1868 and 1872, familiarly known as the Grant campaigns. In both those years as a speaker he travelled all over the State addressing large audiences.

The election of 1876 was inaugurated in Indiana under peculiar circumstances. Many influential Republicans in the State insisted personally and by letter that General Harrison should allow his name to go on the ticket for Governor; but to all such overtures he gave one answer, positively declining the honor. His

private affairs were such that he did not consider it advisable to take the candidacy. The Hon. Godlove S. Orth was nominated, and some opposition having developed itself that gentleman withdrew from the race pending the canvass, leaving the Republican ticket without a head.

General Harrison, supposing the matter settled, went away for a rest. He betook himself to the north shore of Lake Superior, and there, beyond the reach of mail or telegraphic communication, engaged in the pleasanter occupation of fishing for trout. He knew nothing of what was going on in politics at home until, on his return, he reached Mackinaw. There in a Chicago paper several days old he read of Mr. Orth's withdrawal. Upon getting to Fort Wayne he was apprised by telegraph that the Central Committee had substituted him in Mr. Orth's place. A large delegation met him at Muncie to urge acceptance upon him. In Indianapolis a still larger crowd was assembled at the depot to receive him and escort him to his house. Governor Porter made a speech on the steps of his house, pressing upon him that if he declined, and the Committee had to resort to another substitution, the canvass which was then on would be utterly demoralized; on the other hand it was thought he might be able to save the State for Hayes, the Republican candidate for the Presidency. Altogether, seeing no way to refuse the solicitation of the party, he acceded to it.

After a few days of preparation he made the opening speech at Danville on the 18th of August, and then gave his whole time to the campaign. The State elections, it will be remembered, were held in October. Having gotten so late a start he had no time to give attention to the matter of organization. The work on the stump occupied him exclusively. The meetings at which he was received were extraordinary in number and zeal. The displays and demonstrations, not to speak of the intelligence of the people who took part in them, have never been surpassed in the State. There was one at Rockville, the county town in which he held his debate with Mr. Hendricks some years before, which was particularly interesting. Senator Hale was his associate speaker. The people met them at the depot with a four-horse barouche, and drove them to the court-house. Across one of the streets a rope had been stretched with a little girl in a basket suspended from it, and as they passed she was lowered and filled the carriage bed with flowers. Mr. Hale was delighted with the ovation, and taking the meeting as a fair illustration of the popular feeling he had no doubt that the State would go Republican. A short time before the election, however, a horde of Baltimore plug-uglies were distributed through the districts, and Mr. Barnum began his wholesale purchase of mules. The effect was disastrous.

This was the contest well remembered in Indiana between General Harrison and the Hon. James D. Williams, of Knox county. It was out of a comparison of the two in the matter of personal appearance that the former had fixed upon him the reputation for blue blood and kid gloves which in certain quarters still serves as a rallying cry against him. He was not then, is not now, and had really never been extreme in his ideas of dress. On the contrary he was habitually somewhat negligent in that respect. It is true he affected clean shirts when he could get them, not so much for the sake of appearance as for comfort. He was addicted to the use of a broad-brimmed slouch hat, and he did not stay at home because his boots were not blacked. His clothes were of good material, but plainly cut and made. He wore no jewelry on finger or shirt front. He combed his hair at least once a day, and thought he violated no canon of propriety by brushing his teeth in the morning. If his shoulders became dusty it did not mortify him. In short he was in attire, appearance and manners what is accepted by the world as a genuine, hearty, unaffected gentleman.

The force of the comparison alluded to would be utterly lost without a description of his opponent. The reader is asked to imagine a gentleman of probably sixty years of age, who in general outward appearance bore a striking resem-

blance to Abraham Lincoln. He probably exceeded Mr. Lincoln in height, but like him was large handed, with feet in proportion, and ungainly and awkward, but with a pleasant voice and a look of infinite good nature. He wore during the canvass a "stove-pipe" hat, very tall, and so worn that there was no trace of silk left on it. Mud, wind and weather had stained it the color of tobacco juice. His shirt collar, through the sweat of the labor he had undergone, was disposed to crawl down and hide beneath the old-fashioned stock, which was itself frayed around the edges and otherwise much the worse of the wear. Out of the stock projected a neck very long, very red and marked with an unusually protuberant "Adam's apple." In token of the confidence the people of his county reposed in his integrity he had represented them in the Legislature for a great many years; and during the time appeared invariably in a suit of home-made or domestic jeans such as is popular to this day amongst the mountaineers of Kentucky. But as Mr. Lincoln could never find a merchant tailor artistic enough to fit him, neither could "Uncle Jimmy Williams." Sitting or standing his *tout-ensemble* was that of a lay figure or wooden man. His shoes were of the coarsest, and when he sat his foot down the number of superficial inches it covered was extraordinary. His occupation was that of a farmer; and it is said that in plowing he could always do

a better job and made a neater furrow if barefooted. It is very doubtful if ever in his life he covered his large honest hands with anything more graceful than a mitten.

It must not be understood that we are speaking derisively; indeed, it would be very unjust from the description given to infer that Governor Williams was wanting in ability. He possessed a rare stock of good, sound, practical, common sense, which served him well in lieu of a college education. Like Mr. Lincoln, he had the knack of knowing men. Conscious of a lack of grace in his physique, instead of allowing it to make him misanthropic and sour, he accepted it, in good part, and actually converted it to his advantage. Without pretension of any sort, his walk was such that, though political enemies sneered at him as "Blue Jeans" Williams, not one of them ever dared deny that he was a good man, honest and faithful in all his relations. His flower of life, as he saw it, was his primitive, Jacksonian Democracy. Such a man could not help being popular.

In the contest to which we have adverted he made his good sense manifest by avoiding joint discussions. Throughout the canvass it was his custom to be present promptly at the hour appointed for the meeting, wherever that might be. Knowing his inability to speak, he occupied the attention of the audience but a few minutes, concluding with a smile, and the declaration, "Now,

I will give place to a more abler man." Whereupon the Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees would arise, and deliver the speech of the occasion.

From these attempts at description, the reader can readily discern how General Harrison might become known as "the man in kid gloves," although there was nothing in his habits of life to justify the epithet.

The result of the election was unfavorable to him; but, in saying this, it is to be remembered that he ran very handsomely ahead of the rest of his ticket. The following, taken from the New York *Sun*, shows the comparative vote received by the Republican candidates in the year 1876, and sufficiently explains his defeat, without imputing it to fine clothes in the one case or backwoods apparel in the other:

This was the vote on the Republican side:

Harrison, for Governor, . . .	208,080
Robertson, for Lieutenant-Governor,	206,641
Watts, for Secretary of State, . .	206,774
Herriott, for Treasurer, . . .	206,197
Hess, for Auditor, ...	206,774
Smith, for School Inspector, . .	205,322

It would seem from this that in 1876 General Harrison, despite the disadvantages under which he ran, was in that year about two thousand votes stronger than the rest of his colleagues on the ticket. Thirteen Congressmen were voted for on the same day that the Governor was elected, and the combined vote of these on the Re-

publican side was 204,419, so that from this comparison it would seem clear that General Harrison was from three to four thousand votes stronger than the Republican organization in the State at that time. His own county—Marion—which includes the city of Indianapolis, gave him a majority of 1600. He carried Vanderburg county, which includes the city of Evansville, and Tippecanoe county, which includes the city of Lafayette. He was beaten by a plurality of 5084, in a total vote of 434,457. There was that year a Greenback vote of 13,000, most of it drawn from Republican ranks.

In the opinion of the writer the perfect solution of General Harrison's defeat is exposed in the last sentence of the extract quoted; and it is but just to add that during the entire campaign he never alluded to his opponent, and was not in any way responsible for the "Blue Jeans" talk of the day.

It has been said that the defeat was followed by loss of prestige with his party. Far from that, two years later he was called upon to preside over the State Convention, and in 1880 we find him in the National Convention at Chicago, chairman of the delegation from Indiana.

In the latter assemblage, after some thirty ballotings, it became apparent that Mr. Blaine, who had been steadily receiving the support of the Indiana representatives, could not succeed. About that time a well-known Wisconsin delegate came to General Harrison and asked what he could rely upon if the Washburne vote were turned over to General Garfield. A hurried canvass was

had, and assurances given that Indiana would back the change; whereupon it was effected. Wisconsin cast her eighteen votes for Garfield, and on the next roll call Indiana gave him twenty-seven of her thirty votes, two going to Blaine, and one to Grant. Next ballot, Indiana gave Garfield twenty-nine votes, and he was nominated.

In that early period there were delegates to the Convention who insisted on using General Harrison's name for the first nomination, but he resolutely declined.

In 1884 he again represented his State as delegate-at-large, and he was again discussed in connection with the nomination for the first place on the National ticket.

In the Garfield campaign, it is to be added, that he was invited to accompany that gentleman in his trip to New York. Accepting the invitation, he assisted in the speech-making at the several stations along the route. In further evidence of the esteem in which he was held by President Garfield, he was offered a place in the Cabinet, but the honor was declined on the ground that he was quite unfamiliar with public affairs at Washington; that he had just been elected to the United States Senate, which was a place where he could learn by listening before he was compelled to incur responsibility in any way. Mr. Garfield concluded his argument on the occasion by saying, somewhat sadly: "That, back

in the days of Clay and Webster, no public man hesitated to leave the Senate or the House for a seat in the Cabinet, but now it was the reverse. He feared the change was attributable to the fact that the business of the government had grown so much that Cabinet positions had become slavish offices."

General Harrison participated actively in the campaign of 1880, and distinguished himself particularly by a speech in answer to one by Mr. Hendricks, in which the latter gentleman had attacked President Garfield for going on the Electoral Commission after having, as Mr. Hendricks charged, previously expressed an opinion on the question. The accusation was more partisan than wise, because every member of the Commission of both parties, except the Judges, who held the balance of power, was supposed to have given an expression of opinion in the course of the debates upon the subject.

When the election was over, and the Republicans had a majority on joint ballot, General Harrison became a candidate for the United States Senate, and was unanimously chosen. He held the place the six years to the perfect satisfaction of his party, and would have been re-elected but for the Democratic revolution inaugurated in the State Senate by Mr. Green Smith. The particulars of that shameful affair have been given in the remarks explanatory of the speech in the Lieu-

tenant-Governor's case. With the respect of his political enemies, and the unabated confidence of his party, General Harrison retired to his law office and engaged once more in his profession. While there he was called to the higher honor of his present candidacy.

The National Republican Convention assembled in Chicago, Ill., on the 19th day of June, 1888. The preparations to house it in the Exposition building were extremely elaborate and successful. Nothing of the kind, more magnificent and yet tasteful, had been seen on the continent. One so fortunate as to have been admitted to the vast interior during a day session will never forget the impression wrought upon him, while the scene at night, under the flood of brilliance that filled it, is simply defiant of description. To say that the city distinguished itself in the arrangements, the finish and the decorations, is saying much in little. Her matchless audacity of enterprise was probably never better illustrated.

The Convention is too recent of occurrence to require a detailed account of its proceedings, even if the space permissible in this volume would allow it.

Hon. John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, was chosen temporary chairman, and Hon. M. M. Estee, of California, permanent chairman.

The candidates for the Presidential nomination were numerous, all amongst the foremost men of

the party in the nation. Upon their individual merits it would have been impossible to have gone amiss. There was, in fact, no room for difference in choice, except upon the ground of expediency.

There were in all eight ballots taken by the Convention for the Presidential nomination, of which the first is given to show chiefly a list of the gentlemen voted for and the vote in tabulation by which General Harrison was nominated.

FIRST BALLOT.

Russel A. Alger	84
William B. Allison	72
Chauncey M. Depew	99
Edwin Fitler	24
Walter Q. Gresham	111
Benjamin Harrison	83
Joseph R. Hawley	13
John J. Ingalls	25
W. W. Phelps	25
Jeremiah Rusk	25
John Sherman	225
James G. Blaine	35
Robert Lincoln	3
William McKinley, Jr.	2

As the balloting proceeded other names were added to the list:

On the third ballot Warner Miller received 2 votes.

On the fourth, Fred Douglas and Governor Foraker each received 1 vote.

On the sixth, Fred Grant received 1 vote.

NOMINATION OF HARRISON.

On the seventh, Creed Haymond received 1 vote.

So, in course of the balloting, certain of the candidates withdrew or were withdrawn by authority: of the former was Mr. Depew; of the latter were Mr. Blaine, Mr. Allison and Mr. Rusk.

The eighth and decisive ballot was as follows:

McKinley	4 votes.
Sherman	118 "
Gresham	59 "
Blaine	5 "
Alger	100 "
Harrison	544 "

The nomination was of course made unanimous.

The balloting for a Vice-Presidential candidate was entered upon immediately that order was restored and the nominations were made. There was but one ballot:

William Walter Phelps	119 votes.
B. K. Bruce	11 "
Wm. O. Bradley	103 "
Thomas	1 "
Levi P. Morton	591 "

William R. Moore was put in nomination, but withdrew his name before the roll was called.

Pursuant to the time-honored custom, a Committee of one from each State was appointed to

inform General Harrison and Mr. Morton of their nominations.

The Committee waited upon the General at his residence in Indianapolis on the 4th of July.

There were present of that body as follows:

The Chairman, Mr. Estee, of California; Colonel George Denny, of Kentucky; ex-Governor Charles Foster, of Ohio; H. C. Payne, of Wisconsin; H. L. Alden, of Kansas; General Reeder, of Pennsylvania; D. C. Pearson, North Carolina; C. H. Terrell, Texas; Governor P. C. Cheney, New Hampshire; General Barin, Oregon; Colonel S. H. Allen, Maine; Hon. William Marine, Maryland; R. A. Norval, Nebraska; A. H. Hendrick, Alabama; Captain John C. Daugherty, Tennessee; Logan H. Root, Arkansas; W. W. Brown, Georgia; Thomas Scott, Illinois; W. McPherson, Michigan; R. B. Langdon, Minnesota; James N. Huston, Indiana.

To the very appropriate and happily worded speech of Mr. Estee, Chairman of the Committee, General Harrison replied:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:—The official notice which you have brought of the nomination conferred upon me by the Republican National Convention, recently in session in Chicago, excites emotions of a profound, though of a somewhat conflicting character. That after full deliberation and free consultation, the representatives of the Republican party of the United States should have concluded that the great principles enunciated in the platform adopted by the Con-

PRESENT HOME OF HARRISON.

vention could be in some measure safely confided to my care, is an honor of which I am deeply sensible and for which I am very grateful. I do not assume or believe that this choice implies that the Convention found in me any pre-eminent fitness, or exceptional fidelity to the principles of government to which we are mutually pledged. My satisfaction with the result would be altogether spoiled if that result had been reached by any unworthy methods, or by a disparagement of the more eminent men who divided with me the suffrages of the Convention. I accept the nomination with so deep a sense of the dignity of the office and of the gravity of its duties and responsibilities as altogether to exclude any feeling of exultation or pride. The principles of government and the practices in administration upon which issues are now fortunately so clearly made, are so important in their relations to the national and individual prosperity that we may expect an unusual popular interest in the campaign. Relying wholly upon the considerate judgment of our fellow-citizens and the gracious favor of God, we will confidently submit our cause to the arbitrament of a free ballot.

The day you have chosen for this visit suggests no thoughts that are not in harmony with the occasion. The Republican party has walked in the light of the Declaration of Independence. It has lifted the shaft of patriotism upon the foundation laid at Bunker Hill. It has made the more perfect Union secure by making all men free. Washington and Lincoln, Yorktown and Appomattox, the Declaration of Independence and the Proclamation of Emancipation, are naturally and worthily associated with our thoughts to-day.

As soon as may be possible, I shall, by letter, communicate to your Chairman a more formal acceptance of the nomination, but it may be proper for me to say now that I have already examined the platform with some care, and that its declarations, to some of which your Chairman has alluded, are in harmony with my views.

It gives me pleasure, gentlemen, to receive you in my

home and to thank you for the cordial manner in which you have conveyed the official message.

Needless to say here that General Harrison's speech has been received with great satisfaction by the party throughout the country.

We have seen General Harrison as Student, as Lawyer, and as Soldier; we are also informed of his political career down to the present; but now the interest in him is not merely of concern to his fellow-citizens of Indiana; now the people of the whole country demand to know, in the first place, if he has a record upon the living issues of the day; and, secondly, what that record is. Such we assume is the great difference between being a candidate for the Governorship of a State, and a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

General Harrison has a record upon nearly, if not quite, every topic that may be raised in the canvass now upon the American public. It consists mostly of remarks made in speeches at different times and places, and, admitting that the curiosity in the connection is natural and reasonable, we do not know how better to meet and satisfy it than by giving extracts from his sayings as they are to be found in reports of addresses delivered by him and published before his nomination. And to this task we will now proceed, premising only that, for economy of space, not to speak of clearer understanding on the reader's

part, the extracts submitted are grouped together in classes, each under a heading significant of the subject to which it belongs.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

I want to assure you to-night that I am an advocate of Civil Service Reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens and long to be able to give my time and energy solely to the public affairs that legitimately relate to the honorable trust which you have committed to me. It is easy for theorists to make suggestions upon this subject which in their opinion would cure all existing evils. I assure you it is more difficult to frame a law that shall be safe and practical in its application. I know that several Republican senators gave much thought and study to this question during the last session. I believe the next session will witness the enactment of a law, which, if it does not consummate, will at least auspiciously begin this reform. That there are sincere advocates of this reform in the Democratic party as in our own I do not deny. But that this reform would be introduced by that party if they were to come now in the control of the Federal patronage, I do not think any sensible man believes. In some of the States, and in the Senate of the United States, the Democratic party to-day controls the patronage. Need I say that in the appointments made there we find no suggestion of Civil Service Reform?—[Speech at Indianapolis, Aug. 30, 1882.]

No Democratic candidate for the Presidency could rally his party if he were to proclaim as the rule of his administration, that public office should not be a reward of party zeal. The fate of this reform is in our hands. Democrats have masqueraded as civil service reformers

in their conventions, but they drop the mask now that their hands are extended to clutch the booty. The only hope for the permanency of this reform is that it shall in the future go under the friendly hands and nurture of a Republican administration until it has become a rooted and substantial thing. We may then expect that the Democratic party will again praise its comeliness.—[*Iowa State Register*, Oct. 22, 1883.]

CIVIL RIGHTS.

The occasion for the extract following was a meeting of colored citizens called to protest against the abrogation of the civil rights act.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has not been true during all the period of my residence in Indiana that you have been my fellow-citizens. It is true, however, to-night. When, in 1854, I came to Indiana to reside the constitution then in force in this State and the laws of the United States, as explained in the Dred Scott decision, did not recognize you as citizens. I stand to-night and look into the face of no man who is not my fellow-citizen, endowed under the law and the constitution with every right that I possess. I do not think there has been any revolution in history more notable or significant than the revolution which has taken place in this country since 1860, as affecting the status of the colored men and women of America. When we look back to that time before the war we see 4,000,000 of Africans who were slaves—absolutely deprived of all natural and political rights; in the eyes of the law mere things, not differing in any essential, so far as the law describes them, from a horse or a mule—chattels, to be sold upon the auction block, to be transferred by bills of sale, to be passed by testamentary expressions of those who owned them to the children that came after them. I talked to one here to-

night who has been the subject of those bills of sale. That was the status of the colored men in the slave States. What was it in many of the free States and here in Indiana? We had the old thirteenth article of our State Constitution, adopted in 1850, which absolutely made it illegal for a colored man to come into Indiana, which made it illegal for any man to hire a colored man who had come into the State, though he might be starving, and have a willing head to work and earn the bread he and his children needed, under the penalty of going to jail for hiring him. I recollect when that was your status here in Indiana, and there were convictions in this State against white men for hiring black men to work for them. What was your status then with reference to our public schools? You know when your children were first admitted to the schools. I doubt if there is a person here so young that they do not recollect it. You have left the infants at home to-night—the very young ones. What is your present relation to that great agency which, more than State laws or constitutional laws, is to be the agency of the elevation of the black race—the free schools? Why, all that is said in this letter that has just been read from Austin H. Brown is true as to the present condition of the schools in Indiana. You have magnificently constructed and equipped school-houses built out of the public taxes of the State of Indiana, in which your children may from day to day acquire the elements of an education which shall fit them for the right exercise of that citizenship with which they are now endowed; and in those schools you have colored men who, by their own intelligence and industry, have made themselves fit to preside over them, and dispense the discipline and instruction which pertains to them with a degree of skill and satisfaction that is a credit to your race. I noticed to-day as I walked down from my house in the morning young colored children, with their books under their arms, going to the high school, entering there with the children of the white men, rich and poor, of Indianapolis, upon equal terms, to acquire the higher branches of education. When we recall the legal re-

straints which less than twenty-five years ago were upon you, and the weight of prejudice which kept you down and separated you from your white fellow-citizens, we look with wonder upon the condition of things to-day, and I am here to rejoice with you in it. There has never been a proposition looking to the striking off of a shackle from the black man's wrist, or from his mind or from his personal freedom which has not received my hearty endorsement and my personal help—not one. I am glad to know that you are not wholly indebted to those distinguished pioneers, those intrepid men who faced this wall of prejudice in your behalf for what has been achieved, but that you yourselves have had an honorable part in breaking down those walls of opposition. It was most appropriate that the freedom of the blacks should not come until the blood of the black man had been shed on the battle-field to procure it. I have seen myself in the South a brigade of black men face the rebels. I have seen them turn up their dusky faces to the sun as their souls were freed by death upon the battle-field in order that they might win freedom for their race.—[Speech at Indianapolis, Oct. 23, 1883.]

FINANCES.

The Surplus in the Treasury.

As Fred Grant said, "A surplus is easier to handle than a deficit;" but I do not deny that in connection with this surplus of about one hundred millions a year there is danger; there are dangers of profligacy of expenditure, and others that require us to address ourselves promptly and intelligently to the question of a reduction of our revenue. I have said before, as your resolutions say, I would like to have that work done by the Republicans because I would like to have it done with reference to some great questions connected with the use of revenue, about which I cannot trust my Democratic friends. I would like to have our coast defences made

secure; I would like to have our navy made respectable, so that an American naval officer, as he trod the deck of the ship bearing the starry banner at its head in any port throughout the world, and looked about upon her equipment and ornament, might feel that she was a match for the proudest ship that walked the sea under any other flag. I would like to feel that no third-rate power, aye, no first-rate power, could sail into our defenceless harbors and lay our great cities under tribute. I would like to feel that the just claim of the survivors of the Union army of the war were made secure and safe. —[Speech at Indianapolis, Dec. 20, 1887.]

Value of a Stable Currency.

A stable currency—one that has a fixed value—that is worth the same to-day and to-morrow—is the best currency for men in all conditions of life, and is the only one with which men in all conditions will be satisfied; and if there is any class of men in the world who have a deeper interest than others in having currency which is the same from month to month and from year to year, it is the poor man, the laboring man—the men who are most liable to be deceived by those who have better opportunities of information in regard to matters of finance. The man who sits on some financial eminence can see beforehand the fluctuations in the money market and save himself from loss, but the man who cannot is the man down in the valley to whom information of these changes—financial changes—come tardily. Where you have a fluctuating currency, when it goes up labor is the last thing to feel the rise, and when it goes down labor is the first thing to feel the depression. Then, if there is one class more than another that has a deep interest in a permanent, stable currency, it is the poor man, who has not the ability to watch its fluctuations and arrange his finances with reference to them. Our greenback currency, with this quality added to it, is a currency with which I believe the people will never consent to part. —[Speech delivered at Danville, Ind., Aug. 18, 1876.]

The Financial Question

The financial question is unfortunately still in the arena of politics. It will be a happy day for the country when we can be sure of one full year unvexed by financial tinkering. The most serious drawback to a National currency is that if disturbed by unwise legislation, or threatened by the clamor of demagogues, the mischief is as wide as the country. A certain and stable standard by which values may be measured is the first necessity of commerce. So long as possible legislation by the next Congress affecting the value of our currency must be considered by every lender and borrower, by every buyer and seller, we cannot look for settled times and old-fashioned prosperity. Commerce hears the threats of the canvass, and contemplated enterprises are abandoned. The capitalist hordes his money. The manufacturer limps along on half time. The laborer suffers, and everybody stands in an attitude of waiting. Silver has been remonetized. Upon this question we had much heated controversy. The West and South, without distinction of party, antagonized the East, and won. The silver dollar of 412½ grains—a full legal tender—is a hard fact. Let the controversy end. . . . Whatever our views on the question were when it was an open question, in the interest of financial tranquillity let us take the law as it is, and say *stare decisis*.—[Speech delivered at Richmond, Ind., Aug. 9, 1878.]

Fiat Heresy.

In what I have said thus far, I have been speaking to those who hold that a specie basis for our currency is desirable. But we have a new candidate for popular favor in what is called the "fiat" dollar. . . . . It (fiat dollar) is not a greenback, unless light is darkness. I have always been an advocate and friend of the greenback currency. As a soldier, I hailed it in common with all my comrades as an ally of freedom, a friend of the flag, a reinforcement that made victory possible, and valor and

daring fruitful. It had but one infirmity—it was not a par dollar—it was depreciated. The promise it bore on its face was not kept. From this infirmity every true friend of that currency desired that it might be recovered. We differed as to what tonics should be used, as to when the invalid should leave his couch. . . . But let us trace a little more particularly the differences between the "fiat" dollar and the greenback. The greenback, in common with every bank note any of you have ever seen, contains a promise to pay dollars. It reads, the United States will pay to bearer one dollar on demand. None of you would take bank paper or the paper of an individual that did not contain a promise to pay. And its value is measured by your faith and your neighbor's faith, that the promise will be kept. The "fiat" dollar is to contain no promise to pay, but in its stead we are to have a "fiat," or proclamation. It would run in its simplest form thus: "This is a dollar," or if that formula is too brief, some decoration might be added, thus: "Hail Columbia! This is a dollar," or "E Pluribus Unum! This is ten dollars." Or for the pious it might read: "In God we trust to make this a dollar," and the holder would mentally add: "For He only can." For it is certain that nothing short of the "fiat" of Him who made the world from nothing can make such a bit of paper worth one hundred cents. The greenback is a child of promise. The "fiat" would be a waif, a stray, a nobody's child. But, say these men who claim for our Congress creative power, we will pass a law making these "fiat" dollars legal tender for all debts, public and private. If you did your law would need, as between individuals, the sanction of judicial approval. If the courts held your legal tender fiat act unconstitutional, as they certainly would, it would hardly pay the rag picker to gather from the defrauded poor your fiat dollars. Congress has power by the Constitution to coin money, but this is not coined. It has power to borrow money, but that implies a promise to pay, while neither in the law creating it nor in the fiat paper itself will you admit any promise to pay. . . . But if the legal tender qualities could be given

to this new species of money (the fiat dollar) that would not make it a par dollar, or a dollar of any fixed value. It would enable every corporation and manufacturing company in the land, every person employing labor, to buy up this cheap money and pay it out at par to their employees for the last month's wages. But when those laborers shall go to the merchant with their cheap fiat money to buy bread or meat for their families—where is the law that can force that merchant to give as much flour for a fiat dollar as for a greenback or gold dollar? He will only give the value of the dollar offered, and if that value is uncertain or fluctuating, he will probably give less than its present value, out of a fear that it may further depreciate on his hands. Labor is always sold on credit. Flour and meat and shoes may be, and are, to the poor, sold for cash. But labor cannot be sold in that way. Labor is a matter of hours, of days, of weeks; pay comes at the end of the day or week or month. It has been estimated by competent persons that on any given day there are owing $120,000,000 to laboring men and women for wages. Do these want to be paid in "cheap money?" And yet that is the base use to which such money is always first put. These wages have been earned on a gold basis. Working men and women, do you agree that wages shall be paid in cheap fiat dollars? I affirm it to be clear to any man who will think, that the money of the laboring man ought to be real money—not spook money—not "materialized demand," as one of the ablest advocates of fiat money has described it, but a promise that it will on demand materialize into shining gold and silver dollars. The dollar he contracts for at the beginning of the month when his wages are named ought to be the dollar he receives at the end of the month. Money must be very cheap before it can be picked up in the streets, so cheap that it will hardly be worth stooping for. Short of that you can get it only by giving something for it, labor or property. If you get in exchange full value in cheap money you have more nominal money, but are you any richer than if you had got full value in good money? The probability is

that the next day you will be poorer—for the tendency of cheap money is to cheapen. It is undoubtedly true that the legal tender quality and the quality of being receivable for customs and internal taxes would give some value to anything, however worthless in itself, but not a certain or fixed value. The quality of being legal tender, aided by the promise on its face to pay, could not keep the greenback at par. Nothing but convertibility into coin can do that for any paper money."—[Speech delivered at Richmond, Ind., Aug. 9, 1878.]

THE TARIFF.

The next national Democratic platform will not declare for a tariff for revenue only. Indiana is not the only State where such a declaration would be prejudicial to Democratic success. In the South, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee are already awakening to the benefits of diversified industries. No longer content to raise cotton for Massachusetts, they are spinning it in sight of the fields where it grew, and are successfully competing with the East in the markets of the West. The vast beds of coal and iron in their mountains have been opened. Alabama already has her Birmingham, and boasts of her ability to make iron cheaper than Pennsylvania. The industrial question threatens to dominate the race question, and that bodes no good to the Democratic party in the South. The Western States are no longer purely agricultural States, exchanging their wheat for New England goods. When the Cobden Club makes its old appeal to the West in behalf of British goods, it does not speak as formerly to a section having but one great industry. The furnace, the rolling-mill, the machine-shop, the woollen and cotton-mill have come West to grow up with the country. In 1850 Ohio had only $29,000,000 invested in manufacturing; in 1880 she had $189,000,000. Then Indiana had less than $8,000,000; in 1880 she had over $65,000,000. Then Illinois had $6,000,000; in 1880 she had over $140,000,000.

Iowa then had $1,200,000; in 1880 she had $33,978,000. The total value of the products of manufacture of these four States in 1850 was only $101,000,000; for 1880 it was $982,207,000. The power of Cobden Club tracts over the mind of a farmer diminishes in proportion to his nearness to a manufacturing centre. For in that proportion he realizes the benefit of a home market. One that not only takes the staple products of his farm, but its more perishable products that cannot reach a distant market. Let us not forget that the tariff question, as we have it in American politics, is not in its ultimate statement a question as to what duty shall be levied on this or that article of import. The broader question must be settled first whether we may and should in fixing these duties so adjust them as to protect American industries. Whether we should do that of a deliberate purpose, or should leave these industries to the accidents or "incidents" of a tariff only designed for revenue. Mr. Voorhees is reported in the newspapers to have said that the tariff plank in the Indiana State platform of last year declared "For a revenue tariff, with incidental protection, designed to foster our industries." There is a vast deal of undesigned incidental nonsense in such a declaration. A leading Democratic paper aptly described this sort of thing "As a tariff for revenue only, with a protection attachment to catch votes." The tariff plank in the Ohio platform, to which I have already alluded, and which has been accepted in a good many other States as the correct "form," is only another example of a platform trick intended to conceal and not to declare the purposes of the party. As I have said, it did not reach Iowa in time, and you blundered into an honest expression of Democratic doctrine—"A tariff for revenue only." The Democrats of Iowa have courage. I think this virtue is the fruit of adversity. They have never found it necessary to stop and consider whether this or that declaration of principle might lose the State. It was lost before the platform was reported. You want a tariff for revenue only. You would have Congress gradually but persistently reduce duties till every vestige of protection to our home indus-

tries is eliminated. You would give our persecuted industries no rest. The only concession you will make to them is that they shall be led down an easy incline to death. You will advise a slow poison. Your platform does not hold out any delusive hope of "incidental protection." It boldly says, we will have no regard whatever to the necessities of any American industry or to the wages of the American laborer. Our sole object will be revenue; and if we can get more revenue out of a given article by making a rate that will close every American mill producing it, and give our entire market to the British manufacturer, that shall be the rate. This doctrine takes no account of workmen and workwomen. If our mills are kept running these must accept the lower wages of European operatives.

I do not stop to furnish statistics of the comparative wages of labor here and in Europe. They are abundant and well authenticated. I want no other evidence that wages and all the other conditions of labor are better here than in Europe than this: the laboring men and women of Europe are coming this way, and they come to stay. Millions of earnings have gone back to the old countries to pay the passage money of friends hither, but the steerage of the returning vessel is empty. The Irishman, German, and Scotchman know a land that has light and life in it for a laborer as well as the bird knows the land of summer. I do not say that labor has its full reward here. I do not deny that the avarice of the millowner too often clips the edge of comfort from the wages of his operative. I regret that the legislator has so little power to soften the rigors of avarice or to save the laborer from disastrous competition in the labor market. But in spite of all this, I do affirm that there is more comfort and more hope for a laboring man or woman in this country than in any other.

Will it help the laborer to bring our tariff duties to a "revenue only" basis? On which side is his interest? Every honest and intelligent advocate of free trade must admit that if we abandon our system of protective duties the wages of labor must be reduced. The trade unions

frequently concede a reduction of wages when the product of their labor declines in price. Now these tariff reformers tell us that the price of all competing American products is enhanced by the full amount of the duty laid on the foreign article. A reduction of duty then involves a corresponding reduction of the price of the product of our mills. The laborer in the mill must accept less wages. But it is said that the reduction in wages, which some of these gentlemen state at twenty-five per cent., is to be made up to the workmen by the cheaper rate at which he will obtain the necessaries of life. The loss of one-fourth of his wages is a very hard fact. The laborer knows what extra pinching that means. The compensating advantage held out to him in the way of a reduced cost of the necessaries of life is a schoolman's theory. The great bulk of his living, three-fifths, in fact—his meat, and bread, and house-rent—have no relation to tariff duties. The laborer is asked to render at least one-fourth of his wages that he may possibly save two dollars on his coat. A tariff "for revenue only" means less work and lower wages. Let every workingman take that fact home with him. This is not only a question for the worker in mills, but on the farm and on the street. One of the most significant things said in the Senate during the debate on the tariff bill was this by Senator Morgan, of Alabama: "There is Birmingham, which is growing up in great prosperity; but whether it is going to add a dollar to the wealth of Alabama is a problem. If Birmingham is to raise the price of farm labor all over the State twenty-five cents a day, or something like that, the farmers will have to give up cotton planting, and will have to stop, or else it will have to be planted entirely on the hills by the few white people who are scattered among them; or, if Birmingham or any other industry in Alabama is to draw the labor from the plantations, I do not see how we are to conduct our great agricultural enterprises. I shall begin to believe after a while that it is more of a curse than a blessing to have these great bestowments of coal and iron in the bosom of our State."

It will be noticed that this distinguished Senator doubts whether Birmingham, the great centre of the iron industry in his State, will be a benefit to Alabama. The higher price paid for skilled labor there will have a tendency to raise common labor—the black man in the cotton-field may demand higher wages for his day's toil—and so the Senator fears that agriculture may suffer from the proximity of these busy centres of the arts. It is a short-sighted view. The manufacturing industries build up our cities, and the cities cannot wall in the influences which enhance the value of property. They are not free cities, but must pay tribute to the outlying fields and to the farmer who tills them.

Every prosperous city in Iowa sends out from it an influence that enhances the value of the farm and the products of the farm. It brings to a circle of these farms a market which may be reached by the wagon and delivers the farmer from the tribute of the common carrier. We need not have any fear that wages will anywhere be too high. We have a common interest that a margin for comfort may be added to the necessaries of life. I am sure that none of us are so anxious for cheap goods that we would be willing to admit "the spoils of the poor" into our houses. It seems strange that we should find a party among us opposing the protective principle when even the provinces of Great Britain are adopting it and finding increased prosperity.

France and Germany still embody this idea in their legislation. There may be fair ground for debate as to the rate which particular articles of import should bear, or as to whether this or that article should not be on the free list. Republicans differ upon such questions, but that our legislation should discriminate in favor of our own country, her industries and laboring people, ought not to be questioned. I shall not stop to tire you with statistics as to the effect of tariff duties upon the cost of our domestic products. The pretext that these are enhanced in price to the consumer by the amount of the tariff duty laid upon similar products has been too often exposed. If you will take any market report from one

of your newspapers and examine the quotations on any manufacture of cotton, woolen or iron and then look at the tariff duty imposed on these articles you will expose for yourselves the falsity of this pretense. The effect of American competition has almost invariably been to reduce prices. It is this competition only that emancipates us from the power of the foreign manufacturer to dictate prices in our midst. Doubtless you are unaware of the fearful burdens under which you rest until some Democratic orator explains them to you. Things seem to you to be cheap enough and the exchanges which you are able to make of your labor for foreign products seem to be made on favorable terms. Certainly they are more favorable than they used to be. About a year ago I happened in one of our Indiana towns and had the pleasure of conversing with one of the old citizens who had been a clerk in a dry-goods store in a very early day in the history of our State, when the surplus product of our lands all went to the New Orleans market by flatboat. He told me that he recalled well the time when the first Lowell print calicoes came to the store. Before that everything had been British or French. He recalled the price at which these things were sold. Calico was thirty-seven and a half cents per yard, and chickens were thirty-seven and a half cents per dozen. It took eight dozen chickens to buy a calico dress, and the pattern was scanter then than it is now. If we look at the price-list of steel rails or of other manufactures of iron or of tile, or fabrics of woolen, one shall find that we are able now to make exchanges of our farm products for these at more satisfactory rates than formerly. But, some one says, I can buy the same article of British manufacture cheaper abroad. Well, if that is true now, has the fact that our American mills have occupied so largely our home market nothing to do with it? Are you absolutely sure that the price would remain the same if these mills were closed? Are you sure it would not reach higher figures than the price of our domestic products now?

I have said that there was no unity of thought or pur-

pose or principle in the Democratic party on this question. There was no consistency of action on the subject in Congress. With very few exceptions Democratic Senators voted for high protective duties upon every article in the production of which their several States were interested. I will prove this by the evidence of Democratic Senators. On February 14th, Senator Gorman, of Maryland, said: "There is not a Democrat on this floor who has not voted for the highest possible protection within the revenue standard for the interest of his State, and the lowest possible duty upon every article that his people consume and do not either raise or manufacture."

What an interesting picture of Democrats by a Democrat—each voting high protective duties upon articles of import that come into competition with products of his own State, and "the lowest possible duties" upon all articles not produced in his State. General Hancock was right. The tariff is a "local question" to Democratic statesmen. In the same speech Senator Gorman further says on the same subject: "The policy exists all the way through from Texas to Maine. You will find my friend from Texas voting for a duty upon cattle to prevent them from coming in from Mexico in competition with the cattle of Texas. He would not put them on the free list, the very staff of life. He would not put on the free list wheat, corn, or cattle, and my friend from Alabama would join him in that vote. My distinguished friend from North Carolina (Mr. Vance), who has fought nearly every section in this bill, and has become as near a free trader as any gentleman I ever listened to, is in favor of taxing rice, and is in favor of keeping a tax upon turpentine. He himself proposed to take from the free list the wooden pipe the poor man smokes and place it on the taxable list." Let me call another Democratic witness. On the 15th February Mr. Voorhees said:

"Rice is a product of one or two States in this country. I am not unfavorable to any protection which the Senators from those States desire to have upon it. The value of rice imported into this country in the last year

was $1,417,437.84. The duty collected on that rice was $1,581,338.05, being a larger amount of money paid for the privilege of importing rice into this country than the value of the rice itself. Yet the gentlemen, with the exception of perhaps one or two from the States that raise rice, have stood here for nearly one solid month arraigning every interest that was affected by the whole tariff bill from one schedule to another from end to end. The rate of duty for the importation of rice is 111½ per cent. Yet I have heard men talk here by the hour about glass, about iron, and about coal, as if the very horrors of the Inquisition were upon them, and I find them meek and mild and gentle as sucking doves when it comes to the question of duty on rice and glad to stay away from the debate—glad to stay out of it—and do not say a single word. Glad to let others besides themselves settle the protection on their rice."

It only remains to add that sixteen Democratic Senators, out of twenty-six voting, voted against a reduction of the duty on rice, and that Senator Vance was one of them.

And now let me give you a specimen of the views of two leading Democrats of Indiana. In one of his last speeches in the Senate, February 15, 1881, Joseph E. McDonald said:

"The Democratic party has always taken this view of the powers of the Federal Government, and has opposed the so-called protection policy as unconstitutional as well as unwise, and especially in its platform of 1876, 'demanded that all custom house taxation should be only for revenue.' The reassertion of this principle in the platform of 1880 it is true has been denounced in this chamber as a 'remarkable blunder,' and it has been charged here and elsewhere that the assertion of it had caused the defeat of the Democratic party in the last Presidential election. . . . Mr. President, the Democratic party was not defeated because it advocated a constitutional tariff and opposed the doctrine of protection, and I trust on this subject it will 'take no step backward.'"

Mr. Voorhees, in his letter to Bayless Hanna, October 20, 1881, said:

"The platform of 1880 was a violent departure on the subject of the tariff and has no precedent in the history of Democratic platforms adopted in National conventions. Have examined them all. The declaration of 'a tariff for revenue only' was never before made in a National Democratic convention, and is a burlesque on common sense. . . .

"We lost Indiana in the last three weeks of the campaign of 1880 on the absurd issue made by our platform on this subject."

And again in his debate with Senator Vance (Cong. Record, February 17, 1883, p. 17) he said: "I stand here declaring that I am a protectionist for every interest which I am sent here by my constituents to protect."

Now, my Democratic friends, is not somebody cheated when these two views of the tariff are blended in one platform? Mr. Hendricks in his speech at Council Bluffs read the Iowa and Ohio platforms of this year, and the Indiana platform of last year, and said: "I have referred to the recent declarations of these States as entitled to great weight and consideration. Their population aggregates more than six million, and in the pursuit of agriculture and the mechanic arts their production can hardly be enumerated. The Democracy of Virginia are in harmony with these States." Now, if the Virginia Democracy are in harmony with these three platform declarations on the subject of the tariff, it must be that the platforms are harmonious with each other. Mr. Hendricks meant to convey that impression. And yet no one knows better than Mr. Hendricks that the Iowa platform which declares for a "tariff for revenue only, by a gradual but persistent reduction," would have been impossible in Ohio and Indiana. He knew that the Ohio platform which demands a tariff so adjusted as, among other things, to encourage productive industries at home and afford just compensation to labor, is no more a "tariff for revenue only" than his talk was that of a candid man. The Indiana platform of last year quite as distinctly admitted the idea that a tariff was not to be "for revenue only," but was to be so adjusted as to "pro-

mote the industries of the country and the interests of labor." When Mr. Hendricks says these three platforms mean the same thing he delivers a heavy blow at the intelligence of Mr. Voorhees, who says that the Iowa platform is an absurdity, and that the Indiana platform is the work of his own hand. Mr. Voorhees claims that the Indiana platform allows a Democrat to say as he said in the Senate, without inconsistency, "I am a protectionist for every interest that I am sent here by my constituents to protect," and to vote for the highest duties on glass and rice. But Mr. Voorhees is not for the "old ticket," and this may account for Mr. Hendricks' indifference to his feelings.

A great many leading Democrats talk about "incidental protection," as if that sort of protection was a very good thing. They are careful to say that they would give our industries the full benefit of the beneficent accident.

Now, if they really rejoice in this chance benefit, why not give the benefit of a purpose—by design—and get some credit for good intentions? I can see no reason in them unless it be held with Mr. McDonald, that it is unconstitutional to consider the protective effects of a duty in advance, or that it is a good thing but must come, like the whiskey to Lincoln's temperance man, "unbeknownst to him." I would not have a tariff for revenue only—nor for protection only. I would not have either the revenue or the protection "incidental." —[Speech reported in Iowa *State Register*, Oct. 22, 1883.]

Free Trade and Workingmen.

I believe that tariff duties should have regard not only to the revenue to be raised, but to the interest of our American producers, and especially of our American workmen. It is clear to my mind that free trade, or a tariff for revenue, or for revenue only—and these last are essentially the same thing—involves necessarily a sudden and severe cut in the wages of the working men and women in this country. I know it is said that his dimin-

ished wages will have an enlarged purchasing power—that after he has submitted to a cut of from 15 to 30 per cent. in his wages, what he has left will still buy as much as before. But all this is speculation; the workman has no indemnifying bond, only a philosopher's forecast. The question must be settled by the intelligent workingmen of the country. If they do not want protective duties, then they will go. If they believe that it is good policy for them that an increased amount of the work necessary to supply the American market should be done in foreign shops, by foreign workmen, then it will come to pass. Many of them have thought upon the question and have reached a conclusion. During last winter I received petitions from a large number of the Knights of Labor assemblies of this State, protesting against the passage of the "free ship" bill. They said that in their opinion our ships should be built in American shops by American workmen, and not on the Clyde by British workmen; and when I said in response that I agreed with them, several of the assemblies sent me a vote of thanks.

All that I have said relates only to the question whether, in framing a tariff bill, we shall think of nothing but the revenue to result, as the Democratic party contends, or whether we shall also consider the effect of particular duties upon the prosperity of our American industries; whether protection shall be intelligent, of design, or fortuitous and accidental. I stand with my party for the former. But in saying this I am not committed to specific rates, or to the existing law in all its details. I am ready to consider any necessary changes—reforms, if you please to call them such—but it will be in the light of the general principles I have announced.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Sept. 15, 1886.]

Republican View of a Tariff.

The Republican party, on the other hand, holds to the doctrine that in fixing tariff rates the effect of the rate proposed upon American industries and upon the wages of American workmen should be carefully and kindly

considered. We do not think that the shutting up of shops or the extinguishment of industries is a pleasant work. We have not reached the plane of that cold philosophy which refuses to recognize a closer relationship and a higher duty to the American workman and his family than to the English. The foundations of our national security and life are not of stone—the good will and good conscience of our voting population support the stately fabric. Contentment is a condition of good will, and has an important relation to a good conscience. Good wages promote contentment. The cry of the free trader is for a cheaper coat, an English coat, and he does not seem to care that this involves a cheapening of the men and women who spin, and weave, and cut, and stitch. He may even deny this. But let one of these gentlemen whose lives have been so favored that they have never had any "personal contact with business" go into any great manufacturing establishment and tell the grimy workmen that the product of their work is to be reduced 25 per cent. in the market. He will see that the men who have had a very rough "personal contact with business" at once understand that the hope of better wages is gone, and that lower wages are imminent. It is no answer to say that the manufacturer ought to stand the reduction himself. Perhaps in some cases he ought. In other cases he could not without producing his goods at a loss. I may admit that selfishness is the genius that presides in the mill office, but even this evil genius can be made to serve the workman when the product of the mill is in demand at good prices. I do not say that our American workman gets all the benefit he ought to enjoy from a protective tariff, but I do believe that his condition and that of his family is vastly better than it would be under a free-trade or tariff-for-revenue-only policy. It is noticeable that even the McDonald school of Democrats take great comfort in what they call the "incidental protection," which a tariff for revenue will afford to our industries and to our workmen. They admit the benefit of protection, but insist that it must be an accident. As I said once before, we, on the other hand, prefer that the

good shall be designed, and so intelligent.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Aug. 23, 1884.]

Democratic Revision of Tariff.

I suspect I am a poor political economist. But when I hear men talking, now, like ex-Senator McDonald, of the great benefit that is to come to our people when Democrats revise the tariff, especially in the shape of a cheap coat, I fail to find myself completely in sympathy with him. I think I saw, the other day, in one of our Indianapolis papers, a good overcoat advertised for $1.87, and it must be a pretty mean man that wants to get one for a dollar.

The simple fact is, gentlemen, many things are made and sold now too cheap, for I hold it to be true that whenever the market price is so low that the man or the woman who makes an article cannot get a fair living out of the making of it, it is too low.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Dec. 20, 1887.]

THE LABOR QUESTION.

Protection of American Labor.

I believe that a large majority of our people—not themselves wage-workers—sympathize with and will give their aid to every reform calculated to make the burdens of labor lighter, and its rewards more adequate. These, added to the vast army of wage-workers, can and will bring on in orderly procession those well-digested reforms which experience and study have suggested, and will yet suggest. A contented and thrifty working class is the surest evidence of national health and the best pledge of public security. The men who fought the war for the Union were its working people. It was true of the army as of the kingdom of Heaven—not many rich. The reforms suggested have relation, first, to the health and comfort of the workman. I believe the law

should vigorously, and under severe penalties, compel all employers of labor to reduce the risk to health and limb to the lowest practicable limit. Overcrowding, ill ventilation, unhealthful surroundings should be made unlawful and unprofitable. The life of man or woman should not be woven into a fabric. Every appliance for safety should be exacted. I believe that the wages of the laborer should be given such preference as will secure him against loss. As long ago as 1878, in a public speech, I said upon this subject: "If any railroad or other business enterprise cannot earn enough to pay the labor that operates it and the interest on its bonds, no right-minded man can hesitate to say which ought to be paid first. The men who have invested money in the enterprise or loaned money on its securities ought to have the right to stop the business when net earnings fail, but they cannot fairly appropriate the earnings of the engineer, or brakeman or laborer."

I believe the law should require the prompt payment of wages in money. I believe that the number of working hours can, in most of our industries, be reduced without a serious loss to production, and with great gain to the health, comfort and contentment of our working classes. I advocated and voted for the law of Congress prohibiting the importation of laborers under contracts made abroad, and believe that such legislation is just and wise. But I cannot extend this discussion further. The recent State platform of our party, in its declarations on this subject, meets my entire approval. The labor reform needs only to trust to reason and fair argument to secure success. Its two worst enemies are anarchy and the demagogue. If it escapes these it will succeed. The masses of our people are disposed to be kind, just and liberal—hospitable to reason and reform. But the majority in favor of law and public order is overwhelming. Nothing can succeed upon the line of lawlessness. It is the most hopeful sign that attends this great movement that the great body of its promoters have not failed to see this truth, and have united with their fellow-citizens in denouncing the fierce and destructive doctrines of the

anarchist and his bloody work.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Sept. 15, 1886.]

The Republican Party and the Laboring Man.

The Republican party has given to the laboring man a free homestead on the public lands. It has emancipated four millions of laborers from slavery, and brought by the same charter free labor itself to an honor it could not attain while companioned with slavery. In our State platform several other reforms within the scope of State legislation are proposed, to all of which I give my hearty approval. Among them is a homestead law, which shall secure against sale or execution for debt the home of the distressed debtor, and preserve to his family a roof-tree when the storm of adversity breaks upon them. Another direction in which practical relief may be given to large classes of laboring men is in the laws securing and enforcing the prompt payment of wages. In the case of debts owing by railroad corporations, the courts have, in the exercise of their equity power, without legislation, given a preference over mortgage bonds to labor claims accrued within six months before the appointment of a receiver. The equity of a laborer where wages have been unjustly withheld for seven months is certainly not weakened by his added month of waiting. There seems to be no good reason why there should not be given, by proper legislation, to the employés of all corporations and manufacturing companies, a first lien for wages due. Such a law might not be operative to the full against existing mortgages, but it would be as to all future liens. Holders of mortgage securities would then have an interest to see that wages were paid, while they could protect themselves against the mismanagement of those who controlled the enterprise by making the non-payment of these labor liens a cause of forfeiture in the mortgage, entitling the mortgagee to foreclose. If any railroad or other business enterprise cannot earn enough to pay the labor that operates it and the interest on its bonds, no right-minded man can hesitate to say

which ought to be paid first. The men who have invested money in the enterprise, or loaned money on its securities, ought to have the right to stop the business when net earnings fail, but they cannot honestly appropriate the earnings of the engineer, or brakeman or laborer. When a court, on the motion of the bondholders, seizes a railroad and operates it by a receiver, the chancellor will yield nothing for interest on the bonds till he has paid the men who operate the road. Why should there be another rule for a railroad president? But not only should payment be made secure, but promptness should be enforced. Great wrong is often done by delay though ultimate payment may be certain. The laborer is forced to buy on credit at enhanced prices, or to sell his claim at a heavy discount. This, I believe, could be remedied by legislation prohibiting, under proper penalties, the diversion of earnings to other purposes until the labor roll is receipted. To such reforms—and these specifications do not at all exhaust the list—the Republican party is pledged. The practical knowledge the laboring man has of the evils under which he suffers should be reinforced by the wisest thought of those who are learned in political economy and the law. Every aid which public sentiment and the law can give—without trenching upon constitutional restrictions or the rights of others—waits only for a kindly call. But it will not answer to the summons of hate and violence. . . .

It seems to me, and to this I ask the serious thought of all classes, that the pressing wants of the times are: First, that lawlessness, communism in all its forms, threats, and class hatreds shall be put away forever. If the need of this is more urgent to one class than another it is to the honest laboring man who is out of work. Threats and fears can drive money out of active employment into double-barred safes and into four per cent. bonds—only security and confidence can call it back to its natural partnership and labor. Second, that we put our currency on an honest basis—where those who buy and sell and those who work know when they contract what the dollar of payment is to be. Third, that we lift

up our eyes towards the hills, and recognize the faint but sure signs of morning.—[Speech at Richmond, Ind., Aug. 9, 1878.]

The Laboring Man and Anarchy.

Nothing is more fatal to the interest of labor than anarchy. A condition of society in which law is supreme is for the poor man the only tolerable one. The law reinforces his weakness and makes him the peer of the strongest. It is his tower. If he forsakes or destroys it his folly or his fury delivers him a prey to the strong. In this land of universal suffrage, if he will be wise and moderate, no right legislation can tarry long. That which is just will not be denied. But fury and threats and force will not persuade. They provoke their like, and in this clash and strife all must suffer. One of the most distressing and alarming features of our time is the growing hostility between capital and labor. Those who should be friends have been drawing apart and glaring fiercely at each other. There is no real or necessary antagonism. Capital and labor must unite in every enterprise; the partnership ought to be a fair one, and the partners friendly. The demagogue is a potent factor of evil in the settlement of the labor question. His object is to use the laborer to advance a political ambition. He flatters him with professions of ardent friendship; beguiles him into turning the stone for his axe grinding, and when the edge is on sends him away without wages. If laboring men would appoint committees to inquire into the personal history of these self-appointed champions they would not unlikely find that the noisiest of them do not pay their tailor or shoemaker. Their mission is to array one class against another—to foment strife, and to live themselves without work. They talk largely of the producers, but never produce anything themselves except a riot, and then they are not at the front. Their doctrine is that every man who hires labor is an oppressor and a tyrant. That the first duty of every man who works is to hate the man who gives him

work. The fruit of this sort of teaching is unrest and fear. . . . . The true workingmen should shake off these vipers into the fire; place themselves and all their protective organizations on the platform of the law, and while demanding their legal rights to the full proclaim their equal deference to the rights of others. From this platform their cry for help and sympathy will find the public ear. Let them think and work toward specific and legitimate reforms, for within the limits of constitutional restriction there is no legislation that will be denied them.—[Speech at Richmond, Ind., Aug. 9, 1878.]

Contract Labor.

Mr. Blaine stands to-night square with his party upon the proposition embodied in our platform at Chicago, that we do not want in this country imported contract labor. I believe in letting any man who wants to become a citizen come here, if he comes of his own impulse. But I do not believe, nor does he believe, nor does the Republican party believe in imported gang labor. Contracts made in foreign lands are made at foreign prices, and the competition is unfair. Labor contracts should be individual.—[Ratification speech at Indianapolis, June 7, 1884.]

PENSIONS.

Hundreds of letters from Indiana soldiers, some from sick-beds, some written in the shadow of the poor-house, full of the simple pathos of truth and suffering, have come to me since I have been in the Senate, and the appeal of each was, "Can't you hurry up the settlement of my pension claim?" A Republican Congress responded to that appeal. We doubled the force in the pension office—800 additional clerks there—and gave a corresponding increase in the adjutant and surveyor-generals' offices. If claims were to be settled faster

more money would be needed this year to pay the claims allowed. Who will call this waste or extravagance?—[Speech at Indianapolis, Aug. 30, 1882.]

Mr. Cleveland has one great eminence—I will not say fame—by his extraordinary exercise of the veto power. He has vetoed more bills than all of his predecessors, from Washington down. I must defer to another time a discussion of this feature of his administration. But as we have been challenged to examine his vetoes of private pension bills I will refer to one.

Sally Ann Bradley was the widow of Thomas J. Bradley, who served as a private in Company B, 24th Regiment Ohio Volunteers, from June 13, 1861, to October 9, 1865. He was pensioned on account of a shell wound in the back, received at Murfreesboro, Tenn., January 2, 1862, and died October 21, 1882. The commissioner of pensions decided that his death was not entirely attributable to his military service, and that his widow could not secure a pension under existing law. She was seventy years of age, as helpless as an infant, without means of support, or friends able to assist her. Four of her sons followed their father to the war. Two of them were killed upon the battle-field, and the other two returned, one with the loss of an eye, the other of an arm. The bill gave her a widow's pension, $12 a month. In his veto of this bill Mr. Cleveland said: "No cause is given of the soldier's death, but it is not claimed that it resulted from his military service, her pension being asked for entirely because of her needs and the faithful service of her husband and sons. This presents the question whether a gift, in such cases, is a proper disposition of money appropriated for the purpose of paying pensions. The passage of this law would, in my opinion, establish a precedent so far reaching, and open the door to such a vast multitude of claims not on principle within our present pension laws, that I am constrained to disapprove the bill under consideration."

Does this case need any comment? Would the question have been raised in any other mind, whether what the President is please to call a gift was proper in such a

case? A gift of $12 a month, and in exchange for what? What gift has she made to her country? Two sons that she had nourished at her breast lying in unknown graves upon distant battle-fields. Two more, her only ones, came back from the war maimed in limb and crippled in their ability to maintain the mother who bore them. A husband upon whom she had leaned for support returned to her no longer the stalwart helper and defender he had been and is called before her to the grave. She is alone. Cannot a great, rich government like ours take care of this patriotic woman? Must she go to the poor-house or die of want? May not a nation do out of its great resources what an individual, not lost to a sense of justice, would do under like circumstances?

Our President seems to think that only a policeman's club or a fire engine stands related to the public safety and the substantial welfare of the people. Those finer spiritual influences, patriotism, courage, heroism, he would probably call sentimental and not substantial.

Patriotism saved this country from a revolt that the policeman's club could not quell—it extinguished in blood a flame that water could not quench—and the nation can afford to honor it, and relieve the burdens it brought upon its heroes and their families.—[Speech at Indianapolis, Sept. 15, 1886.]

Fellow-Citizens: There are some things connected with this administration of special interest to soldiers, and I will ask their attention while I state them. I know the power of the soldier vote is diminishing; the column is moving on, and from its head the aged and infirm are dropping into the grave. I know there are not so many Union soldiers to vote now as there were in 1865, and yet, my comrades, there is still a large body of the surviving veterans of that war, and if they are as faithful to themselves as they were to the country, they have the power to rebuke those who now show a disposition to forget the liberal promises with which they sent the boys to the field in 1861. Some of you went out Democrats and came back Democrats. But politics cannot break the bond of comradeship. I honor you as I honor any

other soldier. I give you increased honor, because in many cases you went to the war in spite of the beguilements of those to whom you had been accustomed to look for political advice. What liberal promises were made, my comrades, in 1861 and 1862! Ah! when the stress of war was on, when the old ship was in the storm, how profuse were the promises made to the boys! Shall they be forgotten now? Shall our people in these times, when increasing years and infirmities are bringing to many of the old soldiers needs they never felt before, forget them? I pledge myself, and I am sure I can pledge the Republican party, to be faithful, generous, and liberal to the soldiers that survive, to care for them and to honor them until the last veteran sleeps his last sleep.

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But I come now to consider the President's attitude toward the soldiers. President Cleveland will be known as the great veto President. All of our Presidents prior to President Cleveland vetoed altogether 110 bills passed by Congress, and President Cleveland vetoed in the eight months' session of the last Congress 114. He is four ahead of all his predecessors.—[Speech at Indianapolis, October, 1886.]

FOREIGN POLICY.

Some timid people fear that Mr. Blaine will involve the country in war. Some over-cautious business men affect to believe that the even current of their money-getting will be disturbed by the aggressive foreign policy which they suppose he would inaugurate. My fellow-citizens, no one has ever accused Blaine of being a fool. He has some ideas upon foreign affairs, and I am glad of it; they are rare. He had begun to organize them into a system when he laid down the portfolio of State. Now, what sort of a foreign policy did his dispatches foreshadow? One in which this country shall play the bully? One in which we shall, without cause, insult or deny just rights to any foreign government? Not at all.

Do we not all desire that we shall have a manly foreign policy—one that shall not be characterized by such timidity as not to lift a manly protest when any wrong is done in any foreign country to the humblest American citizen? What was it Mr. Blaine proposed to do? Briefly and chiefly, he proposed to call a congress for consultation as to the mutual interests of the nations of the continent; a meeting of our sister republics, not for the purpose of aggression. Far from it. It was that we might exercise our friendly offices in the interests of peace and stable government among these people where government has been so unstable, where the existing regimes are so frequently overturned as to bring prostration and desolation to all private enterprises. It was that we might extend a kindly hand to these people, to help them on to a higher civilization, and that we might in return enjoy some of that great commerce which Great Britain monopolizes to-day. We are living near these people; they are striving to imitate us in the experiment of free government, yet we are without access or influence. When a distinguished citizen of this State was, by President James A. Garfield, appointed charge d'affaires at Montevideo, in Uruguay, in order to get to his post of duty he had to take a British steamer from New York to Liverpool, and another British steamer from Liverpool to Montevideo. Notwithstanding we are here on the same general coast, there was no direct communication between this country and that. It has been a standing shame that our relations to these South American governments have been such that neither we nor they have enjoyed any of the benefits of good neighborhood. Mr. Blaine proposed to remedy this confessed omission in our foreign policy. A congress of these nations was the leading feature of his brief administration of the State Department. There was nothing to disturb business in that policy, but much promise of a new market for our surplus. Nobody wants war; it is a last resort. But every self-respecting American does believe in maintaining the proper dignity, honor, and influence of this great nation.

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My countrymen, I have digressed a little in this talk about Mr. Blaine's foreign policy. Neither he nor we propose any policy that shall imperil the quiet of this country unless, having exhausted every peaceful measure, there should remain no other recourse but war. But when that issue comes, the patriotic, brave hearts of his countrymen will respond that the dignity and the honor of the country and the safety of her citizens must be maintained, even if the money-getters suffer temporary interruption.—[Ratification speech at Indianapolis, June 7, 1884.]

RESTORATION OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

I am in favor of putting upon the sea enough American ships, armed with the most improved ordnance, to enforce the just rights of our people against any foreign aggressor. It is a good thing in the interests of peace and commerce to show the flag of our navy in the ports where the flag of commerce is unfurled. It opens the way to traffic and gives security to our citizens dwelling in those remote lands.—[Ratification speech at Indianapolis, June 7, 1884.]

Is it not humiliating beyond expression that a prominent Democratic representative should thus declare the inability of the government to obtain redress from an inferior power for outrages upon an American citizen, and that his party associates should at the same time be voting to withhold the necessary appropriation to arm the four vessels we are building and against adding another to their number? It is not proposed by the Republican party to put afloat a navy which, assembled in one squadron, could do successful battle with the fleets of some of the great European powers, but we do propose, and such was the view of the naval advisory board, to build at once a sufficient number of fast-sailing steel cruisers to constitute a bond for good behavior and fair treatment on the part of the other maritime nations of the world, and to construct for coast and harbor defenses

such armored ships and torpedo boats as will protect our great commercial cities on the seaboard. The occasional visit to foreign ports of a modern and well-equipped ship, bearing the flag of our nation, challenges respect and gives a sense of security to our citizens dwelling abroad. —[Speech at Indianapolis, Aug. 23, 1884.]

MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS.

Remedies for Crimes Against the Ballot.

There is vast power in a protest. Public opinion is the most potent monarch this world knows to-day. Czars tremble in its presence; and we may bring to bear upon this question a public sentiment, by bold and fearless denunciation of it, that will do a great deal toward correcting it. Why, my countrymen, we meet now and then with these Irish-Americans and lift our voice in denunciation of the wrongs which England is perpetrating upon Ireland. We do not elect any members of Parliament, but the voice of free America, protesting against these centuries of wrongs, has had a most potent influence in creating, stimulating and sustaining the liberal policy of William E. Gladstone and his associates. Cannot we do as much for oppressed Americans? Can we not make our appeal to these Irish-American citizens who appeal to us in behalf of their oppressed fellow-countrymen, to rally with us in this crusade against election frauds and intimidation in the country that they have made their own?

There may be legislative remedies in sight when we can once again possess both branches of the national Congress and have an executive at Washington who has not been created by these crimes against the ballot. Whatever they are, we will seek them out and put them into force, not in a spirit of enmity against the men who fought against us—forgetting the war, but only insisting that now, nearly a quarter of a century after it is over, a free ballot shall not be denied to the Republicans in

those States where rebels have been rehabilitated with a full citizenship. Every question waits the settlement of this. The tariff question would be settled already if the 6,000,000 black laborers in the South had their due representation in the House of Representatives.—[Detroit speech, Feb. 22, 1888.]

The South, and Suppression of the Republican Vote.

But some timid soul is alarmed at the suggestion. He says we are endeavoring to rake over the coals of an extinct conflict to see if we may not find some ember in which there is yet sufficient vitality to rekindle the strife. Some man says you are actuated by unfriendly feelings toward the South, you want to fight the war over again, you are flaunting the bloody shirt. My countrymen, those epithets and that talk never have any terrors for me. I do not want to fight the war over again, and I am sure no Northern soldier—and there must be many here of those gallant Michigan regiments, some of which I had the pleasure during the war of seeing in action, not one of these that wishes to renew that strife or fight the war over again. Not one of this great assemblage of Republicans who listens to me wishes ill to the South. If it were left to us here to-night the streams of her prosperity would be full. We would gladly hear of her reviving and stimulated industry. We gladly hear of increasing wealth in the States of the South. We wish them to share in the onward and upward movement of a great people. It is not a question of the war, it is not a question of what was done between '61 and '65 at all that I am talking about to-night. It is what they have done since '65. It is what they did in '84 when a President was to be chosen for this country.

Our controversy is not one of the past, it is of the present. It has relation to that which will be done next November, when our people are again called to choose a President. What is it we ask? Simply that the South live up to the terms of the surrender at Appomattox. When that great chieftain received the surrender of the

Army of Northern Virginia, when those who had for four years confronted us in battle, stacked arms in surrender, the terms were simply these: You shall go to your homes, and shall be there unmolested so long as you obey the laws in force where you reside. That is the sum of our demand. We ask nothing more of the South to-night than that they shall cease to use this recovered citizenship, which they had forfeited by rebellion, to oppress and disfranchise those who equally with themselves under the Constitution are entitled to vote—that and nothing more.

I do not need to enter into details. The truth to-day is that the colored Republican vote of the South, and with it and by consequence the white Republican vote of the South, is deprived of all effective influence in the administration of this government. The additional power given by the colored population of the South in the Electoral College, and in Congress, was more than enough to turn the last election for President, and more than enough to reverse, yes, largely more than reverse, the present Democratic majority of the House of Representatives. Have we the spirit to insist that everywhere, North and South, in this country of ours no man shall be deprived of his ballot by reason of his politics? There is not in all this land a place where any rebel soldier is subject to any restraint, or is denied the fullest exercise of the elective franchise. Shall we not insist that what is true of those who fought to destroy the country shall be true of every man who fought for it, or loved it, like the black man of the South did, that to belong to Abraham Lincoln's party shall be respectable and reputable everywhere in America.—[Detroit speech, Feb. 22, 1888.]

Control by the Majority.

My countrymen, this government is that which I love to think of as my country, for not acres, or railroads, or farm products, or bulk meats, or Wall street, or all combined, are the country that I love. It is the institution, the form of government, the frame of civil society, for

which that flag stands, and which we love. It is what Mr. Lincoln so tersely, yet so felicitously, described as the government of the people, by the people and for the people; a government of the people, because they instituted it—the Constitution reads, "We, the people, have ordained;" by the people, because it is in all its departments controlled by them; for the people, because it states as its object of supreme attainment the happiness, security and peace of the people that dwell under it.

The bottom principle—sometimes it is called the corner-stone, sometimes the foundation of our structure of government—is the principle of control by the majority. It is more than the corner-stone or foundation. This structure is a monolith, one from foundation to apex, and that monolith stands for and is this principle of government by majorities, legally ascertained by constitutional methods. Everything else about our government is appendage, is ornamentation. This is the monolithic column that was reared by Washington and his associates. For this the war of the revolution was fought; for this and its more perfect security the Constitution was formed; for this the war of the rebellion was fought, and when this principle perishes the structure which Washington and his compatriots reared lies dishonored in the dust. The equality of the ballot demands that our apportionments in the States for legislative and congressional purposes shall be so adjusted that there shall be equality in the influence and the power of every elector, so that it shall not be true anywhere that one man counts two or one and a half, and some other man counts only one-half.

But some one says that is fundamental. All men accept this truth. Not quite. My countrymen, we are confronted by this condition of things in America to-day, a government by the majority, expressed by an equal and a free ballot, is not only threatened, but it has been overturned. Why is it to-day that we have legislation threatening the industries of this country? why is it that the paralyzing shadow of free trade falls upon the manufactures and upon the homes of our laboring

classes? It is because the laboring vote in the Southern States is suppressed. There would be no question about the security of these principles so long established by law, so eloquently set forth by my friend from Connecticut, but for the fact that the workingmen of the South have been deprived of their influence in choosing representatives at Washington.—[Detroit speech, Feb. 22, 1888.]

Public Lands.

There was a time in our history when we thought our public domain was inexhaustible. There was a time when our Pacific slope lay separated by weeks of travel from us, over sandy plains, in slow coaches. There was a sentiment that we might well aid in the construction of some railroads to the coast. But that work has been done, and we stand, as he stands to-day, in the defence of the principle enunciated at Chicago, that the land not fairly earned by these companies should be returned to the public domain, and that what is left of the public domain suitable for agricultural uses shall be saved for the actual settler, in small tracts. The public mind has been aroused by the fact that foreign capitalists, lords and nobles of the old country, have come here and acquired vast tracts of our public domain; public indignation and interest have been excited, and we have said it must stop. I would not dispose of an acre of the public land otherwise than under the homestead laws.—[Ratification speech at Indianapolis, June 7, 1884.]

The Ship Canal across the Isthmus.

In this dispatch Mr. Blaine boldly, yet without bluster, assumed the position for his government that in the present condition of this country, having States upon the Pacific, Atlantic and the Gulf, we had a peculiar interest in any ship canal across the Isthmus. He pointed out that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, by reason of the greater naval strength of Great Britain, which our policy did not allow us to compete with, surrendered

the control of the canal practically to Great Britain in case of war between the two nations, by refusing to us the benefit of our greater strength upon the land.

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The narrow barrier which obstructs the passage of ships from the Gulf to the Pacific ocean will not much longer force commerce around the Horn. When a canal is completed it will be practically a part of our coast line, and the control of it by any foreign power would put us at tremendous disadvantage in time of war, by allowing the enemy to mass her squadrons on either of our coasts at her pleasure. Only the law of superior force could compel us to submit to this disadvantage.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Aug. 23, 1884.]

Trusts and "Combines."

Now I do not propose here to discuss the tariff question. I believe the principle of the protection of American industry is well established and well defended by the principles of political economy and by the duties of patriotism. There are one or two things that in some respects are working against it, and one is this abominable and un-American system which is recently developed, called trusts—I do not refer to the gas trust at Indianapolis; that is firstrate; it is the only trust of that sort that I know of that is really in the interests of the people—but this sort of thing has come about: The men making steel rails form an association, and they say, "We must not make too many steel rails, the price will go down." And so they say to a steel-mill over in St. Louis, "Now don't you make any rails this year at all; you let your fires go out; you can discharge all of your workmen, and we will pay you out of the pool enough to make you a good dividend on your stock or your capital." And the mill shuts down, turns out the workmen that should be there, and gets out of the pool a good interest on its investment. We had a whisky pool—I don't know that anybody would object that they limit the production, but it will do just as well for illus-

tration. They work it the same way. They say to this distillery, "Your capacity is a hundred barrels; you make fifty." And to another, "Your capacity is two hundred; you make a hundred." And to another, "Don't you run at all, and we will pay you." And they pool it all up and fix prices this way. Now this thing is running too far. It is un-American; it is unpatriotic in my judgment, and you will notice that those who are attacking our tariff system take their position behind these facts and use them as the ground of their assault. We must find some way to stop such combinations. There has recently been an attempt in Pennsylvania, as reported, in the great anthracite coal regions upon which the cities of Philadelphia, Boston, New York and the people of the seaboard depend, as well as of the West, for much of their winter fuel, to combine together, the railroad and mine-owners, and say: "We will only produce so much coal, and we will force the price up." I believe these things should be made unlawful, prohibited and punished as conspiracies against the people.—[Speech, Danville, Ind., Aug. 26, 1886.]

The Anarchists.

My countrymen, I believe that the question of enforcing the laws is assuming an importance now that it has never had before in our country. We have been careless, thoughtless, as we saw violations of law going on from day to day, but the nation has been startled into a realization of the fact that its only safety, the only anchor it has out on the side of social order and domestic peace, is the enforcement of the law. What was it that culminated at Chicago less than two years ago, on that day when the guardians of the law were butchered? Where did this red flower find its seed? It was, as I believe, in that defiant, persistent violation of law upon which we have so long looked indifferently. The nation is waking up.

Prohibition.

I want to say this further: There may have been a time in the past when the Republican party of Indiana had dalliance with the liquor interests; but I beg to say to all who hear me to-day that when the platform of the last State Convention was read and received with cheers by the great masses who heard it, any dalliance between the Republican party and the liquor league was severed once and forever. When the resolution fell from the lips of my friend who sits yonder, Mr. Halford, of the *Journal*, as chairman of the committee on resolutions, a trumpet was sounded that will never call retreat. Why? Simply for the reason I have already given; the liquor league is an organization framed to defy the law, and, therefore, we are against it and it is against us. And yet, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding the fact that whenever you open the robe in which the Democratic party masquerades, you see some liquor league boodle sticking out, there are those who, like my friend, the Methodist bishop South, have got "past temperance," and are third-party men who make the welkin ring with the cry, "Smash the Republican party." Well, that is not a cry likely to draw Republicans into your party. Before me to-day is a great body of Republicans, young and old, full of pride in the old party; who believe that it has, under God, wrought out the best things that were ever achieved by any political organization; who believe that it has in it yet high capacities, and who are not amiably disposed when anybody says, "Smash the Republican party." If you want to persuade us, you will have to change that cry. And what next? Why do you want to smash the Republican party? Does the shield it carries cover the liquor league? No, my countrymen; now, henceforth, if not before, the shield it carries fronts the liquor league, and the point of its spear is toward that enemy of law and order. Why is it that we do not hear from our Prohibition friends the cry, "Smash the Democratic party?" Why is it, when the campaign is on, that the Democratic party newspaper becomes at the

same time a liquor league and a third-party organ? Simply because they hope thus to withdraw from the Republican party, by this third-party movement, enough votes to continue the liquor league and the Democratic party in power; they will have the spoils of office, and their shield will faithfully cover these violators of the law. I have said before, and I say now, that among this band of zealous third-party workers for prohibition there are devoted, faithful, earnest men and women. But, my friends, is it not a little hard, when the Republican party has sounded this note of defiance, and boldly confronts this organized traffic that you affect so much to reprobate, and the Democratic party allied with it, that we should hear the hoarse cry of the liquor league in our front, "Smash the Republican party," and from the rear should come also the piping cry of the third-party Prohibitionists, answering like an echo to the hoarse cry in our front, "Smash the Republican party?"

A voice—They won't smash it worth a cent.

Senator Harrison—No, they won't! [Applause.] Because, for one reason, the great body of that great pioneer church of the West, that paved the way for civilization and God in our woods, are unlike the bishop down South, and have not "got past temperance." Now, what are we going to do about it? Well, let us see. We said in our State platform that we were in favor of clothing local communities with power to act upon this question. There I stand for one to-day. I do not believe in State prohibition as the best method of dealing with this question. If you do, there is no reason why we should part to-day. There is good work that we can do together. The Republican party in the House of Representatives, so far as it could, kept the pledge of the platform. If you had helped us, my prohibition friends, to make the Senate Republican, that law would have been on the statute book to-day. I believe it is true, and can be demonstrated to be true, that if you had thrown your votes with us in the last campaign such a result could have been accomplished. Is it not worth while to work together? I believe that much depends upon the wise and thoughtful

reconsideration of all these questions by the temperance people of Indiana, and if they shall wisely think upon them and wisely give their vote and influence to the party that has started boldly in the direction of temperance reform, we shall certainly carry Indiana next year, and greatly advance the good cause of temperance reform.

The Soldiers' Friend.

I have no disposition to revive any unpleasant memories, but this resolution admonishes us, fellow-soldiers, that we must be on the alert, or some Democratic convention will put Lee into Grant's place and Stonewall Jackson into Sheridan's. God forbid that the soldiers of Indiana, of whatever political faith, should ever allow any other test of friendship than that of sympathy and co-operation in the cause for which they fought. What personal sacrifice is there to any of us in Congress when we vote pension money to the soldier? The man who lived through the war of the rebellion and did not make some sacrifice for the success of the Union armies—who did not say one brave word, or do one brave thing when, with bare and bleeding breasts, our soldiers looked into the face of hell for their country—can never be enshrined as the soldiers' friend.—[Speech at Indianapolis, Aug. 30, 1882.]

Subsidies for American Steamships.

Well, again, I want to see enough revenue saved to help put some American steamship lines on the sea. Every important nation of the old world subsidizes some of the great steamship lines that ply between its ports and the ports of foreign countries, either directly or by liberal pay for carrying the mail. Why I saw to-day in the *Journal* that for years the Argentine Republic, in South America, has been offering out of its treasury an annual bonus of $100,000 to any company that would establish a regular steamship line between Buenos Ayres and New York city. That poor government has been

willing to do so much. It would develop for us a great trade and give an outlet for surplus manufactured products. Congress once placed in the control of the Postmaster-General a large sum of money that might have been so spent, but he refused to expend it; and so we stand to-day. Separated by so much shorter distance from these South American ports, our near neighbors, who ought to buy our goods and send theirs here, are in fact by reason of these steamship lines more near to England than to us, and she enjoys their trade. You all know Bayless Hanna. [Laughter and cries of "We do."] Well, Bayless was chosen to represent us, I believe, at the court of the Argentine Republic, the very nation I have been speaking of, and he wanted to get there, and in order to get there—down our own coast—he had to go to Liverpool to get a ship to carry him there. Is it not a shame that an American ambassador cannot find an American ship out from any of our great ports to these ports of the South American States, but must cross the ocean eastward and put himself under the British flag in order to find the port where he is to set up over his house the American flag? Now, before we reduce the revenue too much, we want to get an administration that will respond to the demand of the people and of Congress that American ships shall have suitable encouragement to ply between these ports of South America and our own ports, to develop the great trade that we ought to have with them.—[Speech, Danville, Ind., Aug. 26, 1886.]

Ireland and Irishmen.

At a meeting held in Indianapolis on the 8th of April, 1887, General Harrison said:

"It may be suggested that we are engaged to-night in an act that savors somewhat of impertinence—that the question of the pending legislation relating to Ireland, which is the subject of discussion in the British Parliament, is not a proper subject of discussion in an American town meeting. But the man who makes that suggestion

does not understand the scope and powers of an American town meeting. We all understand that an American newspaper is free to discuss every question. There is no limit upon its jurisdiction. Now, the American town meeting has just as broad a jurisdiction. We have no official representations to make to the British government. It can take notice or not of what we do and say here, but all the same we will exercise the liberty of saying it. There was a time when communication with Europe was so tardy and difficult that America was separated in its sympathy, but that time has passed. The electric current has been put into service not only upon the land but under the seas. Nations have by this rapid intercommunication been tied together. The bonds of sympathy have been strengthened, mutual interests have been enlarged, and the time will soon come when the whole earth will be one commonwealth in sympathy and thought. Nothing involving the lives or liberties of men can happen now anywhere in the world, whether in the frozen north or in South Africa, that does not evoke interest and sympathy here. I am not here to discuss particular measures of relief for Ireland. I am not here to suggest that legislation should take this or that precise form, but all here will at least agree that it should be progressive in the direction of a more liberal government for Ireland than she now has. We are not here to suggest to Great Britain that she shall concede Irish independence. The disintegration of nations is seldom by parliamentary enactment. When that comes it comes as the fruit and result of successful revolution. We are here simply to say that, in our opinion as American citizens, what Ireland needs is not coercion, is not the constable, is not the soldier with musket and bayonet; but liberal laws, tending to emancipate her people from the results of long centuries of ill government, and that when this British Ministry starts in the direction of coercion, and postpones suggestions for reform until a coercion bill has been enacted, it is traveling in the wrong direction. It is not possible, in this age of the world, to govern a people as numerous

and inhabiting a country of such extent as Ireland by coercion. The period in the world's history when men might be governed by force—their inclinations coerced, their aspirations for participation in government suppressed—is passed away forever. More and more the American idea that government rests upon the consent of the governed is making its way in the world. If it be true that the British government finds difficulty in Ireland in impaneling juries that will convict for offences there against the landlord, it is because it is deeply settled in the convictions of those people that the laws are egregiously wrong in principle and hurtful in their application. Such a conviction cannot be removed by coercion; by finding another jurisdiction and venue in which to try those offenses, and the government becomes a failure when that becomes a necessity. We were not without experience in that in our own country at the close of the war. I unite with you as an American citizen in the expression of the hope that we shall soon witness the adoption of such measures as will win the Irish heart and give to the helpless and poverty-stricken in the land of their fathers contentment and prosperity.

General Harrison responded to the toast, "Washington as a Republican," at the banquet of the Michigan Club, Detroit, on the 22d of February. In the course of his remarks he made the following reference to the Irish question, in arguing for an equal ballot and equal representation in the Southern States:

There is vast power in a protest. Public opinion is the most potent monarch this world knows to-day. Czars tremble in its presence; and we may bring to bear upon this evil a public sentiment, by bold and fearless denunciation of it, that will do a great deal toward correcting it. Why, my countrymen, we meet now and then, with our Irish-American friends and lift our voices

in denunciation of the wrongs which England is inflicting upon Ireland. We do not elect any members of Parliament, but the voice of free America, protesting against these centuries of wrong, has had a most potent influence in creating, stimulating and sustaining the liberal policy of William E. Gladstone and his associates. Cannot we do as much for oppressed Americans? Can we not make our appeal to these Irish-American citizens who appeal to us in behalf of their oppressed fellow-countrymen to rally with us in this crusade against election frauds and intimidation in the country that they have made their own?

On the 5th of December, 1887, the citizens of Indianapolis gave a reception to Hons. Esmonde and O'Connor. At the close of the meeting, the report says:

General Harrison was loudly called for by the audience. He said: "The hour was already so late that he would detain the audience but a moment. He was glad to have the opportunity to hear the distinguished guests of the evening; men who in the British Parliament stand for home rule in Ireland. They have given me much fuller information than I had before of the oppressive character of the coercion acts. I was glad also to learn that the Irish people have shown such a steady and self-contained adherence to their rights, and such steadfastness in the assertion of them by lawful methods. We know that Irishmen have many a time in the struggle of their native land, and in our fight in America for constitutional government, thrown themselves upon the bayonet of the enemies of liberty with reckless courage. It is gratifying to know that they can also make a quiet but unyielding resistance to oppression by parliamentary methods. I would rather be William O'Brien in Tullamore jail, a martyr to free speech, than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin Castle."

The Sisters of Charity.

A fair for the benefit of a new St. Vincent's Hospital was opened in Indianapolis on the evening of 11th June last. The preparations were tasteful, and the ceremonies appropriate.

A report of the proceedings appeared in the papers of the city next morning, from which an extract is presented. Attention is called to the graceful remarks of General Harrison, including the purport of his tribute to the Sisters of Charity.

During the evening short addresses were heard from General Harrison, Governor Gray and ex-Governor Porter, who had accepted an invitation to be present. These gentlemen, along with Rev. Father O'Donaghue and other prominent representatives of the Catholic Church, took seats upon the stage shortly before 9 o'clock, in front of a large banner of red, white and blue, which concealed from the audience the dressing-room. Father O'Donaghue introduced the speakers with a few happy words.

General Harrison, on being introduced, said that when the committee had called upon him and asked him to make an address on the opening evening of the fair he was at first inclined to say that he had no time to make suitable preparation. But after a moment's reflection he considered that would not be a gracious thing to do, for the occasion was not intended to be one of personal dis-

play, but one in which a great public charity was interested. He felt that as a citizen of Indianapolis he should lend what encouragement he could to the magnificent enterprise there inaugurated. It was one in which every public-spirited citizen should be concerned, for if it were carried out according to the outlined plan it would be a credit to the State and city, to say nothing of the great good it would accomplish. Referring to the philanthropic nature of the enterprise he said it called to his mind two lines from Whittier:

> I love my fellow-men—
> The worst I know I would do good to.

He closed by paying a beautiful tribute to the deeds of the Sisters of Charity during the late war.

"There was no battle-field so perilous, or surgeon's table so bloody that these sweet-faced women were not there offering such aid and such benefactions as only a woman's hand could minister."

General Harrison and the Labor Strike of 1877.

It may be desirable to furnish the reader something which will enable him to form an idea of General Harrison in his distinctive character of citizen. Nothing is of such universal admission in the United States as that there are obligations peculiar to citizenship. One of them stands out in bold relief—every man shall hold himself ready

to respond promptly to a call by the constituted authorities to maintain peace and order, and defend life and property from threatened violence. In lands where the government rests upon regular armies this obligation is of less force than in ours where there is no guaranty of order except in the body of the people. As General Harrison's disposition in this respect is well shown in his relations to the great railroad strike of 1877 in Indianapolis, a brief narrative of that affair may be considered of pertinency.

The movement to which we refer began in the East. It had its origin in the belief of railroad employés that they were not receiving a sufficient compensation for their labor, and to right their wrongs generally they conceived the idea of taking possession of the property of the companies, and holding it until the companies acceded to their demands. There is little doubt that their complaints were in many instances founded in right. In that day the diversion of the earnings of roads to objects other than the support of the lines, and keeping them in good state, was more common than at present. Under that policy the employé in a subordinate capacity, the laborer as distinguished from the official, did unquestionably suffer, sometimes from insufficiency of pay, sometimes from absolute denial of wages actually due. The truth of the statement is confirmed by legislation since had looking to the enforcement of liens

for labor, and the ready recognition of such liens in the courts.

Spreading rapidly from the East the "strike," as the movement is more familiarly called, reached Pittsburg, and resulted there in serious loss of life and destruction of property. The public became alarmed. Some pretentious railroad towns were seized with fear approaching panic. The unrest, to speak mildly, that fell upon Indianapolis when, on the 23d July, the Union depot of the city was taken possession of by "strikers," may be imagined. The feeling was intensified by the arbitrary stoppage and detention of freight trains, and the consequent suspension of commerce. The only medium left for communication with the world outside was the telegraph, and that told of mobs in the streets of Chicago and Louisville and elsewhere. How long was the condition of siege to last? Nobody could answer. There was a universal cry that something should be done, and done immediately.

The cry, it is to be remarked, was not against the body of the strikers, most of whom were known as residents of the city, interested in its safety — orderly men, heads of families — but against the lawless element who saw nameless opportunities in the disturbance. The very presence of this latter class was a menace to life and property.

Hon. John Caven was mayor of the city, a

careful, prudent man, not easily alarmed. On the 24th he issued a proclamation for a meeting of citizens to consult as to measures for public safety. The object, it was expressly stated in the call, was to adopt "measures for the protection of life and property." Further, in his address to the mass meeting that responded, he said he had no fears from the strikers proper; but "there was a vicious element of population that was ready to do any act of violence for the purpose of plunder, and there was danger that such might take advantage of the strike to carry out their schemes." He concluded by suggesting the appointment of a Committee of Safety, and that companies be formed for military duty, if the exigency should require such a resort.

The meeting was irrespective of parties, and when a committee of twenty-five was chosen it was composed of Democrats and Republicans; there was in fact no thought of politics in the affair. And that the object in the military organization was not the levying of arms against the strikers, with intent to march upon them and shoot them down, is well proven by a motion of Hon. Franklin Landers, a distinguished Democrat, that a committee of ten of the most prudent that could be selected be appointed, "to confer with the committee of the strikers in a friendly spirit," and ascertain what their demands were, and endeavor to arbitrate between them and the

railroad companies. General Harrison was chosen one of this latter committee.

Next day the two committees, one on the part of the citizens, the other for the strikers, met in the city council chamber. In the course of the conference, as the newspapers reported, "General Harrison made an eloquent and logical speech of some length. He counselled obedience to the law, but at the same time expressed the opinion that the wages stated were too low, and desired very much that they should be raised. He was willing to use his influence with those in authority in favor of this desired increase."

Another meeting of citizens was held on the 26th of July, and, like the first one, it was irrespective of party. An Executive Committee was appointed. Judge W. Q. Gresham, Senator Joseph McDonald, General Harrison, and others of like character, were placed upon it. On the same day the State authorities took action. The following proclamation was issued by Governor James D. Williams:

THE STATE OF INDIANA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

A PROCLAMATION by the Governor relative to certain disturbances of the peace by striking employés of railroad companies

To the People of Indiana:

Many disaffected employés of railroad companies doing business in this State have renounced their employments because of alleged grievances, and have conspired to enforce their demands by detaining trains of their late employers, seizing and controlling their property, intimidating their managers, prohibiting by violence their attempts to conduct their business,

and driving away passengers and freight offered for transportation. The peace of the community is seriously disturbed by these lawless acts. Every class of society is made to suffer. The comfort and happiness of many families not parties to the grievances are sacrificed. A controversy which belongs to our courts, or to the province of peaceful arbitration or negotiation is made the excuse for an obstruction of trade and travel over the chartered commercial highways of our State. The commerce of the entire country is interfered with and the reputation of our community is threatened with dishonor among our neighbors. This disregard of law and the rights and privileges of our citizens and those of sister States cannot be tolerated. The machinery provided by law for the adjustment of private grievances must be used as the only resort against debtors, individual or corporate. The process of the courts is deemed sufficient for the enforcement of civil remedies, as well as the penalties of the criminal code, and must be executed equally in each case. To the end that the existing combination be dissolved and destroyed in its lawless form, I invoke the aid of all the law-abiding citizens of our State. I ask that they denounce and condemn this infraction of public order, and endeavor to dissuade these offenders against the peace and dignity of our State from further acts of lawlessness.

To the Judiciary: I appeal for the prompt and rigid administration of justice in proceedings of this nature.

To the Sheriffs of the Several Counties: I commend a careful study of the duties imposed upon them by statute, which they have sworn to discharge. I admonish each to use the full power of his county in the preservation of order and the suppression of breaches of the peace, assuring them of my hearty co-operation with the power of the State at my command, when satisfied that occasion requires its exercise.

To those who have arrayed themselves against government and are subverting law and order and the best interests of society by the waste and destruction of property, the derangement of trains and the ruin of all classes of labor, I appeal for an immediate abandonment of their unwise and unlawful confederation. I convey to them the voice of the law, which they cannot afford to disregard. I trust that its admonition may be so promptly heeded that a resort to extreme measures will be unnecessary, and that the authority of the law and the dignity of the State, against which they have so grievously offended, may be restored and duly respected hereafter.

Given at Indianapolis this 26th day of July, 1877. Witness the seal of the State and the signature of the Governor.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS.

This calmly worded proclamation was issued on the third day of the suspension of railway service in Indianapolis. The strike meantime had extended to Terre Haute. In other words, it was no longer a local affair. There was danger that it would involve the State. With this view of it, Governor Williams took immediate steps to make his official warning respected. He resolved to provide a military force. The State was full of experienced soldiers, but appreciating the need of a chief officer who had something more than experience, who was in nature prudent, judicious, conservative, he addressed a note to General Harrison, which we give as undoubtedly the highest personal tribute he ever received, coming as it did not merely from one differing from him in politics, but from the very man who had defeated him in the preceding gubernatorial race:

STATE OF INDIANA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
INDIANAPOLIS, July 26, 1877.

Dear Sir: I have to request that you will assume command of all the military forces organized and to be organized at the capital for the preservation of order and the protection of life and property during the existing emergency.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS,
Governor.

To Gen. BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Proceeding as it did from the Executive of the State, the letter must be construed as evidence that the "strike" had passed beyond the control of the civil authorities. Indeed, the Governor

expressly affirmed this fact in a succeeding paper of the same date.

General Harrison declined the commission with due acknowledgments, and upon the ground that he was then captain of a military company organized, under call of the Committee of Safety, for the protection of life and property. He also recommended the appointment of General Daniel Macauley to command the militia. The Governor acted upon the suggestion. and issued a commission as follows:

THE STATE OF INDIANA.

To All Who shall See these Presents Greeting:

Whereas, I have been officially informed of the existence in Marion and adjoining counties of an unlawful combination of disaffected employés of railroad companies whose lines centre at the capital, which threatens the property and lives of the community, and is beyond the power of the civil authorities to control, and may require the use of the militia;

Therefore, Know ye that in the name and by the authority of the State aforesaid, I do hereby appoint and commission Daniel Macauley, of Marion county, a Brigadier-General of the Indiana Legion, to command the organized militia, to serve as such from the 26th day of July, 1877, and until the emergency requiring this appointment shall have passed.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused to be affixed the seal of the State, at the city of Indianapolis, this 26th day of July, in the year of Lord 1877, the sixty-first of the State, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and second.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS.

The motive of the declination by General Harrison was past doubt that, while his connection with the military sufficiently identified him with the law and order party, he did not want to antagonize the good men amongst the strikers to a degree putting out of his power to assist all he

could in a peaceable settlement of the trouble. With this latter object he continued a member of the committee appointed, as has been seen, to confer with the committee of the strikers.

General Macauley called out several militia companies, and the drilling went on industriously. To support him, in case of need, a company of United States regulars marched into the city, in compliance with a request from Governor Williams. While these serious preparations were in progress, conferences with the strikers were unremitted. In one of them, on the 27th of July, a report was presented offering a basis of arrangement. After insisting that all unlawful means for redress must be first abandoned, the conference committee of citizens pledged themselves to exert their whole power and influence to obtain satisfaction for the strikers, and especially the increase of wages sought. This offer was accepted, and the Union depot given up. Traffic was resumed.

On the 29th of July the Committee of Safety published an address stating that order was restored, and congratulating the public that it had been done without bloodshed. The committee declared also that the "strikers" were not the dangerous element which they feared. They thereupon dissolved their organization.

That the committee was constituted of good men, irrespective of party—of Democrats and

Republicans—of men who wanted order and abhorred bloodshed, the signatures of the address amply established. Here they are: T. A. Morris, Benjamin Harrison, John Love, Joseph E. McDonald, Walter Q. Gresham, Conrad Baker, and A. W. Hendricks.

These gentlemen were all equally energetic in bringing the peaceable solution about. While General Harrison did not shirk duty in connection with the military, it cannot be said that he at any time counselled violence or was the enemy of the strikers. On the contrary, he was tireless in efforts to secure peace without fighting while the strike was on, and redress for the strikers when all was over. As has been said, he was at the same time a firm supporter of the government and a true and efficient friend of the men engaged in the movement.

His feelings towards the railroaders may be fairly inferred from a circumstance shortly succeeding the strike.

It happened that some of the railways involved were at the time in charge of the United States Court through receivers. Judge Drummond had a number of the men, supposed to be leaders, brought before him for contempt. General Harrison appeared for them voluntarily. He argued that they were all good men; that their claims were founded in justice; that they erred simply in the course taken to recover their dues. He

begged that they be not punished. The Judge viewed his plea favorably, and discharged them from arrest. They went to the General then, and thanked him for the part he had taken in their behalf.

During the session of the Committee of Safety there were hotheaded people who wanted the militia sent against the strikers. This General Harrison opposed vehemently. He urged that a peaceable settlement was possible, and declared, "I don't propose to go out and shoot down my neighbors when there is no necessity for it."

In confirmation of the above statements, we have certain accounts derived from Senator Joseph E. McDonald. That gentleman says:

I was associated with General Harrison in conferences with the strikers, and throughout he advised a peaceful settlement of the trouble. I have no recollection of his using any bloodthirsty language or insulting any representatives of the strikers during our conferences.

Mr. McDonald also says of this matter:

I don't think that will cut much of a figure as an issue in this campaign. The situation was threatening in Indianapolis then, and a committee on public safety was organized. There was a sub-committee appointed to endeavor to arrange a peaceful settlement of the difficulty, if possible, and to take what measures might be necessary to protect the public interests. Ben Harrison, ex-Governor Porter, ex-Governor Baker, Franklin Landers (afterward Democratic candidate for governor), and myself were that committee. We met a committee of the strikers in the Council chamber in a public confer-

ence. I talked to them, and told them that we sympathized with them and recognized their right to quit work if they were not satisfied with their wages or their employers; but that they had no right to prevent other men from working, and that when they attempted to do so they became law-breakers. General Harrison and the others also talked to them in the same strain.

As late as the 29th of June last, Mr. McDonald supplements the foregoing:

The organization of that committee was for the purpose of providing protection for the city and property, if an emergency should arise to make such action necessary. It was not anticipated that any riot would be precipitated by the strikers, but beyond them, for which they were in nowise responsible, was a danger that had to be guarded against. It was on that account, and that alone, that the committee was organized. From its members a sub-committee of five, consisting of General Harrison, Albert G. Porter, Franklin Landers, ex-Governor Baker and myself, was chosen to consult with the strikers in order to bring about a peaceable solution of the difficulty. All of us on that committee were in accord, and our relations with the strikers were pleasant. Every member of the committee was in favor of peace, and there was no divergence of opinion.

The conduct of General Harrison in his capacity of citizen given above is in thorough keeping with his action in behalf of laboring men during his United States Senatorial term. In this latter, he lost no opportunity of manifesting interest in their behalf. The following synopsis will sustain the assertion:

March 8, 1886.—Mr. Harrison said: "I present a re-

solution adopted by the Fair-play Assembly of Knights of Labor, of Goshen, Ind., not formally addressed to the Senate, but evidently intended for its consideration, in relation to Chinese immigration and other bills pending in Congress affecting the laboring classes. I ask that the paper be received and referred to the committee on foreign relations."—[Rec., p. 2168.]

March 31, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor of Wabash, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which was referred to the committee on commerce.—[Rec., p. 2900.]

April 1, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor of Andrews, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which was referred to the committee on commerce, and said: "I present certain resolutions, certified by the recording secretary and under the seal of the assembly of Wabash Assembly, No. 2281, of the Knights of Labor, of Terre Haute, Ind., praying Congress to pass a law prohibiting aliens or their agents from securing vast tracts of the public domain. I believe this subject is under consideration by the committee on public lands at this time, and I will ask the reference of the resolutions to that committee."

Mr. Dolph.—A bill on the subject has been reported.

Mr. Harrison.—I am advised by the Senator from Oregon that the bill has been reported. I ask leave to say at this time that I know of few measures of greater importance than this. I noticed recently in one of the Chicago papers the results of some inquiry upon this subject, and it seemed to indicate that vast tracts of our domain, not simply the public domain on the frontier, but in some of our newer States, are passing into the hands of wealthy foreigners. It seems that the land reforms in Ireland, and the movement in England in favor of the reduction of large estates and the distribution of the lands among persons who will cultivate them for their own use, are disturbing the investments of some Englishmen, and that some of them are looking to this country for the acquisition of vast tracts of land which may be held by them and let out to tenants, out of the rents of

which they may live abroad. I think this evil requires early attention, and that Congress should, by law, restrain the acquisition of such tracts of land by aliens. Our policy should be small farms, worked by the men who own them. As the bill has been reported, I move that the resolutions lie on the table.—[Rec., p. 2982.]

April 6, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented memorials of Knights of Labor, of Elkhart, Jeffersonville, and Carbon, in the State of Indiana, remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which were referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a petition of Knights of Labor of Jeffersonville, Ind., praying that liberal appropriations be made for works of internal improvement, and especially for the construction of the Hennepin Canal, which was referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a petition of Knights of Labor of Carbon, Ind., praying that liberal appropriations be made for public works, and especially for the construction of a harbor of refuge at Sandy bay, Rockport, Mass., which was referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a memorial of Knights of Labor at Carbon, Ind.—[Rec., p. 3136.]

April 7, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented memorials of Knights of Labor of Frankfort and South Bend, in the State of Indiana, remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which were referred to the committee on commerce.—[Rec., p. 3175.]

April 10, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor of Cardonia, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which was referred to the committee on commerce. He said: "I present also the petition of C. H. Buthenbender and ten other officers and members of the three local assemblies of Knights of Labor at Fort Wayne, Ind., praying for the speedy passage of the bill providing for the arbitration of all labor disputes. The House bill on this subject, I understand, has been reported favorably by our committee on education and labor and is now upon the calendar. The petition will, therefore, under the rules, lie upon the table.

Mr. Cullom.—There is another bill on the same subject which was referred to the select committee on interstate commerce, and has not yet been reported; but probably the petition may as well lie on the table.

Mr. Harrison.—As the petition relates especially to the House bill I have referred to, I suggest that it lie upon the table. I do not desire to anticipate the discussion of that measure, which will soon come before the Senate, but the startling occurrences of which we have accounts from day to day in the newspapers are turning the attention of all lovers of good order and of the prosperity of the country to the necessity of providing some method of harmonizing the interests of the working classes and of the employers of labor. Arbitration is the only method that seems to be open for the peaceful, and speedy, and just settlement of such disputes. Arbitration, of course, must precede strikes. It implies calmness, and that is not to be found when the contest is once inaugurated and passions are aroused. I think so far as we can contribute by any congressional legislation to securing the just settlement by arbitration of all labor troubles we shall contribute greatly to the peace and happiness of the country.—[Rec., p. 3349.]

April 19, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor of Snoddy's Mill, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill; which was referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a memorial of the Knights of Labor of South Bend, Ind., remonstrating against the employment of convict labor on public works; which was referred to the committee on education and labor.—[Rec., p. 3598.]

April 21, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor, of Elkhart, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill; which was referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a memorial of Knights of Labor, of Elkhart, Ind., remonstrating against the employment of convict labor on public works; which was referred to the committee on education and labor.—[Rec., p. 3659.]

April 22, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor, of Logansport, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill; which was referred to the committee on commerce.—Rec., p. 3713.]

April 30, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor, of Indianapolis, Ind., remonstrating against the employment on public works of prison-contract labor; which was referred to the committee on education and labor.—[Rec., p. 3999.]

In acknowledging the receipt of the memorial from the Knights of Labor assemblies, Senator Harrison took occasion to express his concurrence in the opinion expressed in the memorials, that American ships should be built by American workmen, as appears in the above record; and in response received from some of the assemblies a resolution of thanks. He also supported the blll, now become a law, prohibiting the importation of foreign laborers under contracts made abroad to render service in this country. This measure was one that attracted the widest interest among the labor organizations in this country.

The Chinese Question.

In the winter of 1868 San Francisco was agitated by a startling rumor. It was reported that a Chinese delegation, of the most Mandarin sort, was preparing to visit the United States, with Anson Burlingame at its head. The object was to draw the two governments into closer commercial relations. The Occidental imagination is

proverbially quick at building upon suggestions. The illustrious child of the Sun, the August Sovereign of the mighty Ta-Tsing Empire, had at last been beguiled into throwing open the gates of his flowery land; the almond-eyed folk had fallen in love with the Americans, and would now come to see them, bringing presents in the shape of exclusive advantages, out of which wealth would pour in vaster tide than had flooded the English in the golden days of the East India Company. The same rich imagination wove scarfs and garments of cloth of gold, and wrapped them about the form of the hero who, having gone forth a plain minister of the United States to Imperial China, was now returning a stately Prince of Princes, to whose diplomatic address and honey sweetness generally the marvellous seduction was to be altogether attributed. Great was the silk-clad child of the Ta-Tsing! Great was Anson Burlingame!

The rumors at length became facts. On the 28th of April, 1868, a banquet was given at the Lick House in San Francisco in honor of the Hon. Anson Burlingame, which is yet a traditional splendor of the "sun-down" city. If the reader will let his eyes drop through the following partial list of guests in attendance on the occasion referred to he will understand what we would convey without requiring us to exhaust our poor vocabulary.

. Governor Haight, Hon. Anson Burlingame, His Excellency Chih Tajen, Minister of the Second Rank; J. McLeary Brown, First Secretary of Legation; His Excellency Sun Tajen, Minister of the Second Rank; E. de Champs, Second Secretary of Legation; Frank McCoppin, Mayor of San Francisco; S. F. Butterworth; Henry Barroilhet, Consul of Peru; Don José A. Godoy, Consul of Mexico; G. C. Johnson, Consul of Norway and Sweden; William L. Booker, Consul of the British Empire; Henry W. Halleck, General commanding the Division of the Pacific; H. K. Thatcher, Admiral commanding the American Squadron on this coast; Ogden Hoffman, Judge of the District Court of the United States; Delos Lake, District Atorney of the United States; General McCook, United States Minister to the Sandwich Islands; Francis Berton, Consul of Switzerland; C. F. Mebius, Consul of Bavaria; James de Fremery, Consul of Belgium; R. B. Swain, Superintendent of the Mint; R. G. Sneath, President of the Chamber of Commerce; Thomas H. Selby, President of the Merchants' Exchange; Oliver Eldridge, Alvinza Hayward, James P. Pierce, Eugene L. Sullivan, Judge J. S. Hager, Edward Tompkins, Brigadier-General Leonard, Major-General W. S. Rosecrans, Charles Meinecke, Consul of the Republic of Bremen; Charles E. Hitchcock, Consul of the Hawaiian Islands; Major-General John

F. Miller, Collector of the Port; ex-Governor F. F. Low, Judge Sawyer, of the Supreme Court; Judge Currey, Senators Tubbs and Rose, W. C. Ralston, ex-Congressman William A. Howard, of Michigan; A. Stanford, Paymaster Doran, Philip W. Stanford, Major-General Ord, Alpheus Bull, and others.

And there were nuts, wines, fruits and flowers, the skimming of the vineyards and orchards of the Pacific slope; and of what worth are nuts, wines, fruits and flowers at a banquet without speeches? So there were speeches. The reader should not pass the annexed extracts from the few of the many deliverances that went to make that banquet a joy in memory forever.

General Halleck: "Not many years ago these Asiatic nations were excluded from the pale of European international jurisprudence. It was held by European statesmen, and the doctrine was advocated by John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, that Christian powers had a right to compel these un-Christian powers to trade with them in such articles and on such terms as they might see fit to dictate. . . . I regard this as the death of this idea, as one of the most important movements of recent times. It has broken down the barriers of Oriental and Occidental prejudice, and it will eventually lead to the harmony and civilization of the world. . . . If that civilization, which has so long moved westward with the star of empire,

is now purified by the principles of true Christianity . . . San Francisco must be made the abutment, from which is to be sprung forward the great international law which is to bridge across the Pacific Ocean."

Governor Haight: "A vast commerce is to be developed between China and the other nations of the earth; and California was to be especially benefited by it."

Minister Burlingame: "The fraternal feeling of 400,000,000 of people has commenced to flow through the land of Washington to the older nations of the West, and it will flow on forever. Who is there that would check it? Who is there that would say to China: We wish to have no other relations with you than such as we establish on our partial, and mean, and cruel interests at the cannon's mouth? I trust there are none such as these. I believe rather that this generous nation is a better exponent of the wishes of the West. I believe it represents more truly that large and generous spirit which is not too proud to learn and which is not afraid to teach; that great spirit which, while it would exchange goods with China, would also exchange thoughts with China, that would inquire carefully into the cause of that sobriety and industry of which you have made mention, that would learn something of the long experience of that people."

If we have indulged somewhat in badinage it is

because Californians with their great generous hearts are not easily affronted. He who is to-day a part of that marvellous success of the XIX. century, California, cannot only bear to be smiled at in a good-natured way, but can endure to be told, as we now tell him, that if his countrymen east of the Mississippi have been slow to realize the magnitude of the Chinese curse, his own lights, political and commercial, are primarily responsible for it. They were masters of ceremony at its introduction into all the Americas. They were the first to see a man and brother in the coolie. With this gentle reminder the badinage may be dropped.

Mr. Burlingame, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Emperor of China, supported by Chih-Kang and Sun Chia-Ku, "of the second Chinese rank," brought with him a new treaty of sundry articles, from which two passages are extracted:

"Article V. The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the *mutual* advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade or as *permanent residents*." . .

"Article VI. . . . . And, reciprocally, Chinese subjects, visiting or residing in the United States, shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel or *residence*, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the *most favored nations*."

[See Laws of the U. S., 69–71, p. 392.]

The special mission of Envoy Burlingame was to have that treaty signed by the United States, and he succeeded. William H. Seward was signatory on the one part, and Anson Burlingame and his associate high envoys served the other party in like manner.

At length the people of the Pacific States awoke from the delusion which prevailed, as we have seen, at the Lick House banquet of April, 1868. The Chinese were not lovely at all; they were abominable, and it was resolved to get rid of them. A bill for the purpose was introduced into Congress, and finally passed. The first section contains these words: "That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is, hereby, suspended."

The act is known as the Chinese restriction law of May 6, 1882. At the time of its introduction and all through its pendency, General Harrison was a Senator from Indiana. The *Congressional Record* shows that he was opposed to it. It is true that on the 9th of March, when it was on passage, he, with Senators Hampton, of South Carolina, and Sewell, of New Jersey, was engaged in an investigation at the Soldiers' Home, and consequently absent when the final vote was taken; yet it is also true that on the 5th of April following, President Arthur having vetoed the

bill, on a motion to pass it over the veto, Senator Harrison voted nay.

The reason of his opposition in that instance was simple, yet powerful. To understand its force, the reader must first compare the section of the act quoted with Articles V. and VI. of the Burlingame Treaty. The V. article recognizes and recites in the strongest language that the right of migration and emigration is one of the inalienable rights of men. Its effect was to extend the great American doctrine to the Chinese. The VI. article invested that people with the right of *residence* in the Republic upon an equal footing with citizens and subjects of the most favored nations. By virtue of the treaty, therefore, they could come and go or stay at pleasure, on the same footing, for instance, as Germans or Frenchmen. It was against this broad extension of privilege that the people of the Pacific States arose in protest, especially those of California. Recognizing, nevertheless, the sanctity of the treaty, steps were at length taken by the United States to have it modified. A new one was the result; viz., that of 1881. The chief amendment therein (Article I.) provides that, "Whenever in the opinion of the government of the United States, the coming of Chinese *laborers* to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country

or any locality within the territory thereof, the government of China agrees that the government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as *laborers*, other classes not being included in the limitation."

The amendment thus secured paved the way for the restrictive act of 1882, which President Arthur promptly vetoed.

Senator Harrison participated in the debate relating to the President's veto. In the course of his remarks, which were very few, we are informed of the reason of his opposition to the bill. The *Congressional Record* shows him replying to Senator Grover, of Oregon, who was urging that section fifteen of the act, by proper interpretation, included skilled artisans, to which the Chinese Commissioners had objected.

Mr. Harrison—I only want to make a suggestion. In the treaty the word "laborers" is used. I take it that it is not in the power of Congress to enlarge the meaning of the word. Whatever it meant in the treaty it would mean the same thing as used in the law; we cannot make it mean more than that. Therefore why not let it stand in the law as in the treaty, and let the use of that word include what it will?

And again:

Mr. Harrison—It is possible that the Senator is right in saying that the word may be construed differently;

but can we enlarge the meaning of it as it is used in the treaty?

And again:

Mr. Harrison—He (Senator Grover) reads an extract from a paper to the effect that the word "laborers," as used in the treaty, or as used in the law, may be limited by a meaning applied to those who are unskilled. If the courts should so decide, giving that meaning to the word "laborers," as used in the treaty, would the Senator from Oregon be in favor of going beyond what we are authorized to do by treaty?—[*Cong. Rec., Pt.* 4, p. 3359.]

From these extracts it is apparent that Senator Harrison objected to the bill, not upon the ground of the restriction it sought to cover, but because, admitting the correctness of Senator Grover's claim, it appeared to him as fatally attempting to change the effect of the treaty.

Lest the objection be thought trivial, it may be as well to see what the Supreme Court of the United States has said as to the controlling force of a treaty over the action of Congress:

"A treaty is, in its nature, a contract between two nations, not a legislative act. It does not generally effect, of itself, the object to be accomplished, especially so far as its operation is intra-territorial; but is carried into execution by the sovereign power of the respective parties to the instrument. In the United States a different principle is established. Our Constitution declares a treaty to be the law of the land. It is, consequently, to be regarded in courts of justice as equivalent to an act of the legislature, whenever it operates of itself without the aid of legislative provision. But when the terms of the stipulation import a contract, *when either of the parties engages to perform a particular act*, the treaty addresses

itself to the political, not the judicial department; and the legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the court."—[Chief-Justice Marshall, in *Foster* vs. *Neilson*, Sup. C. Decisions, 8th Curtis, 121.] So, too, Justice Miller, in 112 U. S. Reports, p. 598: "A treaty is primarily a compact between independent nations. It depends for the enforcement of its provisions on the interest and the honor of the governments which are parties to it. If these fail, its infraction becomes the subject of international negotiations and reclamations, so far as the injured party chooses to seek redress, which may in the end be enforced by war."

General Harrison was wanting neither more nor less than that the honor of the government should be cared for in the legislation designed to carry the treaty of 1881 into execution.

In the course of the proceedings a motion was made to strike out section 15, which provides that the words "Chinese laborers" shall be construed to include both skilled and unskilled laborers, and Chinese employed in mining; in other words, that the restriction should be applied without distinction of any kind. Senator Harrison voted—Aye.

On the same day, April 28, 1882, Senator Edmunds offered an amendment that nothing in the act should be construed as changing the naturalization laws so as to admit Chinese to citizenship. Senator Harrison voted in favor of the amendment.

We think it clearly established by the foregoing references that General Harrison's opposition to

the act of 1882 was not because of the restriction proposed *per se*, but because of the interpretation sought to be attached to the word "laborers." To give greater significancy to the interpretation, President Arthur had declared in his veto message that the American commissioners inserted in their draft of the treaty a provision that the words "Chinese laborers" meant all immigration other than that for "teaching, travel, study, and curiosity," to which the Chinese objected. The conflict, he thought, could be avoided by simple use of the word in a law as it was used in the treaty.

That this was General Harrison's view is further and absolutely confirmed by his action in connection with the subsequent act (now a law) of 1886. As a historical fact, the bill had been drafted by Senator Fair, of California, and the three Federal judges of the Pacific coast who were principally charged with the administration of the law in reference to Chinese immigration. There can be no question that it represented the sentiment of the great Pacific section. When introduced, it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which Senator Harrison was a member. It was reported back on the 26th of May, with recommendation of passage. The *Record* shows Senator Harrison absent and not voting when it was finally considered. But we are not left in doubt as to his position concerning it. Senator Sher-

man, in reporting it to the Senate, stated clearly and distinctly that the bill had received the unanimous support of the committee—meaning the entire committee. This, it will be seen, could not have been if Senator Harrison had not concurred with all his colleagues.

In conclusion, we think it has been fairly proved beyond any doubt that General Harrison is not so far friendly to the Chinese as to be inimical to the desire of his fellow-citizens of the Pacific coast to restrict the coming of the former to the United States.

General Harrison is now in the prime of life, clear in mind, vigorous of body. His character, both public and private, is absolutely stainless. He loves his family, his fellow-men, his country, and his God. Such a man cannot be inflated by success or embittered by disappointment. By acceptance of the nomination of his party he has signified that he holds himself subject to the popular will. Whether he is chosen or set aside by the people, his future will be in perfect harmony with his past. In other words, the writer who finishes this biography, beginning where we leave off, will find his subject exactly what it has been to us—too pleasant to be accounted a task.

MRS. BENJ. HARRISON.

LEVI P. MORTON:

A BIOGRAPHY.

BY

GEORGE ALFRED TOWNSEND.
(GATH.)

Levi P. Morton

HON. LEVI P. MORTON.

THERE is a new and agreeable villa by Rhinecliff and near the old Dutch town of Rhinebeck, from which the Catskill mountains, opposite, can be seen, and the line of the Highlands which cross the Hudson thirty miles below. The villa is called Ellerslie, and has just been inhabited by Mr. Levi P. Morton, almost coincident with his nomination for the Vice-Presidency.

The incident suggests President Garfield coming to inhabit his country cottage at Mentor, whilst the couriers from the Convention and returning delegates were also pouring in at its doors with advices of the General's nomination.

Here once, in the absence of Mr. Morton, his wife, who had long desired to give her children the benefit of rustic health and serenity, heard that the old Kelly place was for sale, and she induced Mr. Morton to come up and examine the property. When it was afterwards sold by auction Mr. Morton was the purchaser.

This was in 1886, and soon plans were prepared by the architect, Hunt, and it took another year to raise the structure and accessories, thereby

giving considerable employment to mechanics and laborers from all around.

Ellerslie is a large house of 115 feet in depth, by probably 75 feet wide, and it is built in a combination of the Renaissance and the old English styles, the lower story of red stone and the upper parts of plaster and exposed timbers. There are some fine bold gables, but the building is more for comfort than for show. A lake or pond is close at hand, issuing from the woods, and the beautiful Hudson shores extend a long distance on the property, while opposite is the busy coal mart of Rondout and the old State capital of Kingston, where Governor Clinton and his Legislature formed this State and defended themselves between the ramparts of the Catskill and the Hudson highlands.

The vicinity of Mr. Morton's home is rich in personal and historical reminiscences. The Livingston family, with which Mrs. Morton is related, live in the next county, some twelve miles distant, and there, at Clermont, Chancellor Livingston saw his steamboat come up the river nearly twenty years after he had administered the oath of the Presidential office to General Washington in New York.

By Rhinebeck lived Edward Livingston, the Chief Secretary of President Jackson; at Hyde Park Church, hardly eight miles distant, lie buried Governor Morgan Lewis, who beat Aaron Burr

for Governor of New York, and Nathaniel Pendleton, who was the second of Hamilton when Burr killed him.

You can see from Ellerslie the spires of Kingston, where the State of New York was created, and Poughkeepsie, which was the birthplace of Mrs. Morton, where the Federal Constitution was accepted by the State of New York at the entreaty of Jay and Hamilton and with the youthful Kent for a witness of the proceedings.

Thus Mr. Morton, at the age of sixty-four, has come back to the earliest associations of the Commonwealth of New York, where his character has given him the confidence of that probably greatest of political parties in the history of this land, so that, with excellent competitors for the Vice-Presidency, the National Republican Convention, upon the first ballot, selected him to accompany General Harrison and in a remote contingency to be the second hope of the country.

Looking around Ellerslie, where I had the privilege of spending a night in the partly-furnished and airy rooms, one asks himself what were the steps to this solid and reasonable joy of Mr. Morton's half retirement to Sylvan scenes.

He first glances at the master of the premises, who is a straight, large seeming man, with a very easy and benevolent countenance, like one whose physical health and mental equipoise were both nearly perfect, and upon whom age, if it can

so be called, has left the fruitage of a family of young children, who sit around his table as if they might be the progeny of some young man who had been hardly fifteen years in the domestic state.

You may have heard, perhaps, that the host is a banker, both in New York and in London and abroad, and you therefore ask if he expects to spend much time midway between New York and Albany, and hear his reply:

"Yes, I expect to spend a good deal of my time here. We had a cottage for the summer at Newport, but my wife found the sea air did not agree with her; she wanted to come to the country, and so did I. She is in the vicinity of her birthplace and I know no better place to spend the late summer of my days. When I purchased this place I intended to make it the home of my family."

You would guess that Mr. Morton weighed more than 165 pounds and that he was more than 6 feet high, but these are the recorded figures.

He is straight-limbed, stands erect, yet has flexible and quiet movements, and the whole tone of his talk and character are toward tranquillity, though, now and then, you can observe an athletic question or reply from his lips, indicative of plenty of capacity for exertion.

From business dealings with persons of all

types and countries, and in affairs of the very largest character as well as simple, rustic trading, his face has become somewhat cosmopolitan though the New England lines are decided.

It is the general cast and complexion of the countenance which is generic, and, I might almost say, international, and he resembles the type of men of large affairs in all countries.

You mentally run over in your mind both American and British statesmen, to think what one of them he resembles.

He is not a loquacious man, and yet an interesting talker, and one of the pleasantest expressions of his face is that of the respectful, intelligent listener.

That the type is strong and individual, is manifest from his firm, square chin and lips, the mouth being both decided and genial, as in a person who never fully exercised his whole strength.

He has a broad and high forehead, a nose nearly straight but with a slight inclination to be Roman, and his face is suggestive, at times, of the lawyer, the minister, and the merchant.

Bearing himself with unconscious ease, his mind directed toward the happiness of other persons than himself—his nature outside of himself, so to speak—there is the health in his movements of one who lets his mind quit its cage.

Other men are much wealthier than he is and he has had his hard times, as well as his good

times, but the effect of life upon the individual man has been singularly civilizing, mild and kindly.

This is why he has given away a good deal of his substance and why the public has but recently heard of much of this almost quaint benevolence.

He derives from his parents the elements of piety and gratitude.

He has been a great many years coming to moderate affluence, but every step of the route seems to have been progressive, so that he has reached maturity like a tree, in the temperate regions, which may last a very long time by the slow and solid conditions of its growth.

EARLY STORY.

Levi Parsons Morton was born May 16th, 1824, at Shoreham, Vermont.

The time was the conclusion of Monroe's administration and the impending succession of John Quincy Adams. The place was nearly opposite Fort Ticonderoga and within sight of the commonwealth of New York.

At Shoreham, the senior Morton was a Congregational minister and the earlier portion of Mr. Morton's life was spent in the family of a minister kept more or less moving from fold to fold.

The sons of clergymen have played no unim-

portant part in our public history, and the public would be surprised to see a full list of the sons of ministers who have been in great station.

The wife of Washington was of a ministerial family, and the wife of President John Adams was a New England clergyman's daughter—generally reckoned the ablest woman ever in the executive family; at least her son, also, became President of his country.

Aaron Burr was the son and the grandson of ministers, and if he has not been the purest, he has probably been the most romantic of American politicians. The State of New York has been moulded more in accordance with his views of popular politics than those of any other man, and he was a long time ahead of all other New York leaders in foreseeing the power of the populace and of the large cities.

The influences around President Buchanan were clerical and his brother became a minister.

Both Arthur and Cleveland were the sons of clergymen, and Garfield was, himself, a preacher.

The New England Congregational pastor has always been very much of a public man, in that the Puritan settlement was rather in the manner of congregations, and the pastor was, by virtue of his office, in the earlier days, a magistrate; as in the English church of to-day.

The Congregational worship of New England was almost identical with that sect to which

Cromwell belonged, where every church was a republic of the elect of God.

Hence the sons of New England pastors abound in our commercial marts. Morse was one of these—the inventor of the telegraph; the Field family, conspicuous at the bar and on the Exchange, are the sons of a New England preacher. The Potters and the Browns draw their strain from Dr. Nott. The first name to the Declaration of Independence—written large, "so that John Bull could read it"—was that of the son and the grandson of New England clergymen, who preached about the town called Lexington.

The father of Mr. Morton was the Rev. Daniel Oliver Morton, and his mother was Lucretia Parsons, who was both the daughter and the granddaughter of clergymen.

Mr. Morton's family settled in Middleborough, Mass., as early as 1623, at the very foundation of the Bay Colony.

A clear strain of public spirit and moral duty has come down this family line during many American generations, and yet such are the cramped worldly circumstances of the Protestant ministry that Mr. Morton's father probably never drew a larger salary in his life than $600 per annum.

He greatly desired to educate all his children, but his means were not sufficient to put Mr. Morton through college, though he succeeded in

giving that opportunity to his elder son, Daniel Oliver Morton, who graduated at Middlebury College, Vermont, and, going West, became a prominent citizen of Toledo, Ohio, and of Cleveland, and was United States District Attorney for Ohio under President Franklin Pierce.

It will be perceived that these two only brothers were not of the same political view.

There was a difference of nine years between them.

When the Lecompton Constitution, however, was forced by Buchanan's administration upon the people of Kansas, Mr. Morton's brother indignantly repudiated the performance and turned his sympathies toward securing a free empire for free men.

Posterity of this brother—who died in 1859—is notably married, and it is significant that the Morton connection, in general, is given to honorable rather than affluent marriages.

Mr. Morton had four sisters, the first of whom, Lucretia, married the Rev. Mr. Safford, who established a seminary at Evansville, Indiana, and was a Presbyterian pastor in Kentucky; this sister died last year in Philadelphia.

The next sister, Electa Morton, married Mr. Joseph Minot, of Brockport, N. Y.

The third sister, Mary, married William F. Grinnell, at present United States consul at Bradford, England.

The fourth sister, Martha, married Rev. Alenson Hartpence, who was settled for some time in Tennessee, and subsequently removed to Philadelphia; their daughter is the widow of Mr. Mahlon Sands, who was recently killed while riding in Hyde Park, London.

MR. MORTON'S PROGRESS.

When Mr. Morton was about eight years of age his parents removed to Springfield, Vermont, which is near the Connecticut river, and there the family remained four or five years, within sight of the clear, green waters of the Connecticut and its dewy valley, and of the outposts of the Green Mountains.

The next removal was made to Winchendon, Mass., which is on the borders of New Hampshire. The younger son, being now an active, sprightly boy, soon left his home and entered a country store at Enfield, Mass., which is at no great distance from Northampton and within sight of Mount Holyoke.

He there remained two years, with Mr. Ezra Carey, and in the course of time his father was stationed at Bristol, N. H.

Levi Morton then taught a district school, in one of the neighboring towns, and finally entered a general store at Concord, N. H., in 1841, when he was aged seventeen.

His father had partially prepared him to enter Middlebury College, but did not feel able to sus-

tain him for the term of his education, and the son cheerfully consented to get at trade.

The aptitude of young Morton at Concord caused his employer, Mr. W. W. Esterbrook, to establish him in a branch store at the town of Hanover, where Dartmouth College is located.

This is in the northwestern portion of New Hampshire, and some fifty miles from Concord; the old college established in 1770 was then at the height of its prosperity, and had probably 300 students.

With these, and with the people generally, Mr. Morton became a favorite, and when he was only nineteen or twenty years of age his employer gave him an interest in the store, so well satisfied was he with the progress of his assistant.

This interest continued for six years, or until Mr. Morton was about twenty-four years of age.

He often describes his residence at old Dartmouth as the most agreeable portion of his life, because, as he says, he was then in abundant youth, satisfied with his progress and independence, and looking forward to larger areas for business.

As he did not marry till he became thirty-two years of age, Mr. Morton passed a considerable portion of his life upon the resources of a single man, looking after himself, and seeing the fruits in his own ingenuity; and about 1849 he concluded to go to Boston, the business Mecca for every Yankee boy in those days.

It was when Daniel Webster was still alive, though rather in his decay. Mr. Morton saw him more than once in Boston, and was then acquiring the knowledge of business which leads up to finance in the extensive dry-goods house of James M. Beebe & Co.

Appreciation soon followed his attention to business and his popularity with customers, and in 1851 he was made a partner, and the firm resolved to open an establishment in the city of New York.

The firm was known as J. M. Beebe, Morgan & Co.

Mr. Morgan became the successor of George Peabody & Co. in London; he was the well-known Junius S. Morgan, whose son, Pierpont Morgan, is the driving member in the famous house of Drexel, Morgan & Co.

IN NEW YORK.

Mr. Morton came from Boston after a residence there of about five years, during which period he visited for the first time in his life the great city of New York.

His temperament is not adventurous; he finds compensation in every society, and he was no better pleased with Paris than with New York or Boston; and now recalls his occupation in country towns as eminently natural, social and enjoyable.

The firm of Beebe, Morgan & Co. dissolved about 1854, and its Mr. Morgan went to London to engage in banking. The house had been in the importing and jobbing dry-goods business, which took the experience of the heads of the firm into questions of exchange and commission.

In January, 1855, Mr. Morton, who had been a junior in the establishment, organized the house of Morton & Grinnell, which was a dry-goods commission house, operating chiefly in the fabrics of New England and for the prominent New England mills, mainly in cotton goods.

The early bias Mr. Morton had received in favor of the Whig doctrines of American manufactures and American mechanisms made this branch of the trade congenial to him. His partner was the son of Hon. George Grinnell, a member of Congress from Massachusetts. They continued in business until the commencement of the Civil War, when the repudiation of Southern paper and the bulldozing of the day caused so much distress in the commercial world.

AS A BANKER.

Mr. Morton had meantime entered into the married state with Miss Lucy Kimball, the daughter of Elijah H. Kimball, of Flatlands, Long Island.

He married in the same year the Republican party ran its first candidate for President, General Fremont, for whom he voted.

Mr. Morton's first vote in a national election was cast for Taylor and Fillmore, and in 1852 he voted for Scott and Graham.

He was one of the earliest Republicans in the city of New York, and one of the earliest contributors to the Republican party's campaigns.

In the latter part of December, 1861, the mercantile firm of L. P. Morton & Co. was established, consisting of Walter H. Burns, now with J. S. Morgan & Co., London; H. C. Oakley, son of Chief-Justice Oakley, of New York; and Charles W. McCune, afterward of the *Buffalo Courier*, the person who is said to have made Grover Cleveland, by bringing his name forward in the columns of the *Buffalo Courier* and harping upon the subject until the press, throughout New York State, became familiar with the fact that Western New York would have a candidate of that name.

This firm of L. P. Morton & Co. went on until 1863, when Mr. McCune withdrew and the other partners established the banking house of L. P. Morton & Co., at 35 Wall street.

The scenes of Mr. Morton's dry-goods transactions had been Park Place and Duane street.

He had thus been in trade from the counter of a country store up to the senior of large wholesale establishments, occupying a period of twenty-one years; abundant time to know American life and the American markets, through all their gradations.

It was in classic mercantile times the ambition of successful merchants, engaged in the business of exchange and commission, to become bankers; and in this way Bates, Peabody, the Browns and Binghams, had developed from the store counter to the ship, and from the ship into foreign exchange.

In a little while a foreign branch of the house of Morton was established in London, under the name of L. P. Morton, Burns & Co., with George Milne, the resident London partner—a Scotchman who had resided in this country.

In 1869 the firm was dissolved and reorganized, Mr. George Bliss entering the New York firm, and Sir John Rose, then finance minister of Canada, going over to London to join the English firm; Burns and Oakley retired.

The title of the firms at the reorganization became Morton, Bliss & Co. in New York, and Morton, Rose & Co. in London. Mr. George Bliss had been of the firm of Chittenden & Bliss and of Phelps & Bliss, in the dry-goods trade.

BANKER AND MAN.

The influence of Mr. Morton—exerted more or less all his life and generally through the agency of his associates—was soon made manifest by the celebrated Alabama Joint Commission, taking its start from within the house of Morton, Rose & Co.

Sir John Rose, who received his baronetcy for

his public services on this occasion, saw an opportunity for Great Britain and America to close their quarrels by an official understanding of what grievances existed, and, if necessary, a frank settlement of the same. He was a very handsome man with manners suitable to all classifications of men, and he arranged the preliminaries by which the British and American governments concluded to act together and upon American soil.

The consequence was that upon the 13th of February, 1873, the British government paid over to the American government, and through the houses of Morton, Bliss & Co. and Jay Cooke & Co., the sum of $15,500,000, as a settlement of the errors of the past and the clearance for that eminence of trade which has ever since marked both nations, and especially the United States.

During the following time nearly the whole public debt of our country has been refunded at a lower rate of interest, and the negotiation of the bonds at home and abroad has been, in considerable part, conducted by Mr. Morton and his associates.

The settlement of the Alabama matters was highly necessary for that confidence which lies at the bottom of all trading enterprise.

As long as the Americans nourished a grudge and failed to express the quantity of it, in figures, there was a drawing back both from North Atlantic business enterprises and investments.

Since the settlement of the Alabama claims the vast marine of England has been rebuilt, whilst the interior of the United States has been ribbed with railroads, giving the whole empire continuity and intercourse, till ours is no longer a mere territory which extends to the Pacific ocean, but it is a social republic, with a pulse of steam.

The enormous amounts of foreign money invested in our general securities and corporations, have ended in the accumulation of large and numerous fortunes in this country, so that at the present time our men and women of independence are employing the best mechanical art and talent in the country to build homes which will probably be found standing for hundreds of years to come, as indications of the golden time following the establishment of free soil, free labor, and free intercourse, under the Republican ægis of home institutions.

For a number of years the house of Morton, Rose & Co. was the fiscal agent of the United States government in London; in 1885 the account was transferred to Brown, Shipley & Co.

REFLECTIONS.

In the higher circles of bankers, manners and courtesy have ever been considered requisite; the banker deals across the boundaries of different lands and is to some extent the host of him who comes with money to deposit, or facilities to be

obtained. The bankers of the world have almost invariably been originally its leading merchants.

The house of Brown Brothers originated with a plain linendraper, who came from Ireland to Baltimore with his sons, and, sending them back to the old world, as arms of his traffic, they found it convenient to do their own exchanging.

Stephen Girard was a shipping merchant before he became a banker, and came up from the place of cabin boy.

Under high conditions of public prosperity the banker frequently takes the lead in philanthropy, and, therefore, the substantiality of the banking firms of a country is a very important element in credit and acquaintance.

It is the business of the banker to find the localities of money, and to be able to secure it for the benefit of his enterprising fellow-citizens, who are embarking in measures beyond their private means, or even the means of the community or commonwealth where they reside.

The accidents and casualties of human society frequently call for vast sums of money under the most doubtful circumstances of its repayment.

The banker is therefore the diplomatist, within the arena of monetary life.

His address, his vitality, his assurance, constitute much of the success of the entire society, when this is suddenly overwhelmed, and can only be placed upon its feet by financial assistance.

In like manner corporations come to the end of their credit, and are confronted with necessities and competitions which require the borrowing hand.

The natural endowments of the banker—his prudence as well as his confidence, his cordial sympathy as well as his discretion—are often requisite. Indeed, the public minister is little other than the national fiscal agent.

When the government of Charles X. was overturned, it is related that Thiers, the young assistant minister of finance, was to instance his address by obtaining a loan for the government of Louis Phillippe, from the Rothschilds. The Revolution had caused the general flight of money, and the understanding was that specie would have to be drawn upon from the Jewish merchants in Asia and remote countries.

Thiers had the *bonhommie* and courteous tact to obtain the promise of the Rothschilds that they would sustain the new government with funds. They remarked, however, that it would be advisable for him to personally come again, that their Asiatic brethren in the faith might see him and be able to carry the assurance to their several lands that they had seen the government "himself," as a Frenchman would say.

When Thiers reported at the house of their friends, there were seen sitting around mysterious individuals—representatives of those silent and

devious streams of gold and silver which are running through society and which finally empty, in times of crisis, into estuaries beyond the reach of European civilization.

These were the agents of the Jews of Asia Minor, and the Jews of Egypt and of India.

They saw the young man who represented the French state, and measured him up and listened to his speech. They had seen "himself" and they nodded their heads, automatically, and the new government was established in the heart of civilization by the contributions of men of other races and other faiths.

So it is with the American banker.

To rise to his highest usefulness he must have the endowments which nature gives to a gentleman—perfect serenity within, grace and polish without, the affability which outshines manners, and manners which are transcendent, because they are directed from the inner nature.

Mr. Morton, without having derived a fortune from anybody, with misfortunes as well as successes in his life, had always kept to his credit an unblemished character, a decent tongue and a charitable heart.

NATURE.

He entered into the difficult paths of finance with the tranquillity and sagacity which come of the union of a fine temperament with abundant experience.

He knew men and affairs, kept abreast of the day, had public spirit, understood his countrymen, and did not undervalue foreign influences.

He was marked for an international man by original breeding, pure American descent, a fine presence, a patient nature, and that public quality which is only to be found in the largest grade of citizens.

Thus, when he was made minister to France, though he had never previously been in diplomatic life, the appointment was regarded as a tribute to a man who would never disparage his country, nor the country of any other man.

The French were so pleased with him that they changed the name of the park on which his residence was located to the "Place of the United States," and when Mr. Morton came to talk pork to the French government, after they had shut the American swine from their markets for years, the man rather than the minister easily prevailed and the embargo was taken off, because everybody liked Mr. Morton.

Thus, by an odd contrast of things, one of the politest men of our country appeared as the advocate of the universal hog.

The Irishman who remarked upon his pig, when it was occupying too much of the house, that he "would not be afther turning out the gintlemin who paid the rint," was a faint prefiguring of the American nation standing behind its pig. Upon

this very question, if I correctly remember, Mr. Sargent had his quarrel with the German government, which caused his resignation.

A BIOGRAPHICAL RAMBLE.

Mr. Morton's connection with the resumption of specie payments is his strong point among financiers.

It is said that largely through his advice and aid in 1879 resumption was made feasible.

Mr. Morton's ability in Congress was principally advisory and shown in committee rooms. The general public is not yet aware of how ordinary legislation is brought into form.

The House, like the Senate, is minutely subdivided and the committees almost answer to the individuals in families; a man of good utility may be on three or four committees, yet will probably make his chief home in only one of them.

When the committee comes together the conversational man, with accurate knowledge on business things, or law, obtains his impression. The other members of the committee, who are accidentally or superficially informed, learn to turn to that member who can answer all the questions addressed to him and who can bring, from the business centres, the knowledge of experience.

Mr. Morton is a close listener, a silent critic, a genial answerer; neither intrusive nor obtrusive, he imparts, when requested, with a plainness, a

serenity and yet a courtesy which make his information no obligation.

Under better circumstances we would have our Congress fuller of men of this ability, which is acquired in the great book of experience, from humility and obedience, up to the degree of independence and of mastership.

But, after all, the sufficient men for real things are few in all legislatures, of whatever country.

The banker, the important merchant, require to have the public nature, to appreciate an invitation to come to Congress.

There are, of course, plenty who would like to be in the republican parliament, as a social consideration; but he who lays his profitable business down to go to Washington and work, either has the interest of the country at heart or discriminates between fortune and reputation.

There was formerly a quality known as Honor, of which name very much was made, and people fought duels about it. But the age in which we live furnishes the best examples of honor, and among these merchants and prosperous persons who esteem it a greater matter to be called into the service of the nation than to pursue affluence.

All this American wealth might disappear in a single year of disorder and anarchy, and the mercantile morals of the land cannot be sound when the supervising State is crippled, like a bankrupt, or is perverse, like Mr. Micawber,—who would

issue his note and thank God that his debt was paid.

When Mr. Morton went to Congress the Secretary of the Treasury was desirous to cut the bridges behind him which connected the times with repudiated promises to pay.

Mr. Sherman is probably the most extensively informed public man in the land, having entered public life near the time the Republican Party was founded; in the intervening years Mr. Morton had been in real business.

The Secretary, therefore, found a faithful, cheerful, experienced banker Congressman, whose hand had been upon the pulses of all the money markets everywhere.

The attempt at specie payments was made in the city of New York. The accomplishment was so exasperating to the crows of fiscal and economical literature, the smatterers around realities, the magpies of political economy, that hardly a word has been heard from them since.

The nation redeemed its promises to pay; the derided greenback went to the ball with the yellow boy; we found that ten dollar gold pieces were more talked about than desired.

From that day to this the land has had the inestimable benefit of uniform money,—gold, silver and the printed currency holding together, like adventitious companions, who have met and sunk their respective ranks and are, with somewhat

separate consciousnesses, getting along reasonably well.

AS CONSERVATOR.

Mr. Morton, however, exercised a conservative influence upon the subject of unlimited silver coinage and unlimited issue of silver certificates against the deposit of silver bullion.

The United States is not strong enough to override all the ecclesiastical and material traditions of the world. The demonetization of silver by some of the States of Europe, which had superior military power and advantage, could not be altogether forgotten in the United States, where our production of silver, under the enterprising genius of our mechanical miners, has been very large for years. What was required was to keep silver in the use and the traditions of the world but not to glut the market.

Mr. Morton exercised in Congress that influence which has retained silver and silver certificates in public use, without exciting a sensation among the stiff gold men. The country has absorbed a fair share of public certificates, representing silver deposits, while the amount of actual silver pushed at an individual or a trader is seldom so excessive as to be a provocation.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Amidst these and other contributions to public experiment and science, Mr. Morton never

claimed anything; the journals and interviews may be ransacked without finding any claim that he made to knowledge or control. He was constituted in such a healthy way that neither praise nor censure affected the course of his life. Perhaps no man in the country had a higher joy in being one of the servants of the people, and none held in higher estimation the American public opinion, but a well-ordered life had made two citadels for this gentleman—his home was a pleasant microcosm; his office was a fortress, in time of peace.

His business moved onward like the growth of his children. The consideration of his constituency, and of many public men, was most grateful to this family, because they were otherwise so happy, and accessions to happiness are like the widow's cruse, which can yield more and more, and still seem to be a portion of the same original supply.

SKETCHY.

In the rapid gathering together of these details no attempt has been made at due order, the purpose being to convey a general impression of the citizen who has been selected as the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate.

I may refer, however, to a little piece of work which interests the citizens of New York.

At the head of the longest stretch of Broadway, at Tenth street, is a Gothic spire which seems to

stand across the street, to one advancing from the south.

This is Grace Church, which was erected in 1845, of white granite, as the successor of a church on Broadway below Canal street.

Here the most delightful weddings in New York have long been celebrated, and yet one of the interesting additions of the church property is connected with a death.

When Mr. Morton lost his first wife in 1871, his mind ran to the interest she took in church charity—looking out for orphans, growing girls and poor creatures and their families. There is nothing more tender in American sentiment than the remembrance of the sons of poor ministers, of the manly poverty of their parents—holding their heads aloft as magistrates and intercessors, with hardly the means to send their sons to school, and often compelled, against the vein, to commit their boys to country stores and, in some cases, to make them apprentices.

His wife having come from the vicinity of New York, and being identified with the city, Mr. Morton concluded to build an addition, in the style of the church, through the narrow tract which separates Broadway from Fourth avenue.

On that side went up the Orphans' House, which contains school-rooms, refectories and whatever is required to carry out the purposes of the church, and to give Grace Church something of

the completeness of old Trinity, with its parish schools and general utilities. The *Church Journal* remarked of Mrs. Morton at the time of her death:

"Naturally endowed with a rare energy of character, possessing an executive ability vouchsafed to few women, with a cultivated intellect, warm sympathies, most engaging manners, and many charms of person and temperament, Mrs. Morton filled no insignificant sphere with a growing sense of her responsibility and influence. She offered herself freely for service among the poor, and her ready intelligence was ever devising new methods of benefiting them. St. Barnabas House, the Woman's Hospital, ignorant German children, the Industrial School of Grace Parish were only some of the many channels through which secretly and almost by stealth, as it were, her generous bounty flowed. Now, at last, her deeds are known and her works do follow her."

Mr. Morton first purchased two valuable lots to erect the Orphan House, which is called Grace Church Memorial, but these appreciated so soon in value that they assisted to build the chaste and graceful appendages to the church property, and about $73,000 is represented in this ornament to our common city.

SOTTO VOCE.

In conversation with Mr. Morton I found rather

more than a diffidence—an apparent indifference —to revive these matters of public bequest.

It is the misfortune of men of willing disposition to be pursued if they announce their gifts. Mr. Morton, however, has not waited till his death, to embellish whatever portion of the land has become his habitation.

His first wife died at Newport, where he had an excellent home, called Fairlawn. He presented to the city of Newport, before he left it, a park of *twelve* acres, which bears his name, and is for the benefit of the poor who may desire, as they walk among the villas of the wealthy, to find a place to sit down in the shade, to look at the ocean, the coasts and perhaps at the sport of Polo, which, by the way, happens to be enacted right below this park.

APPRECIATION.

Though Mr. Morton had not the benefit of a college education he has not been overlooked by the best institutions of learning.

Both Middlebury College, Vermont, where his brother graduated, and old Dartmouth College, have conferred on Mr. Morton the degree of LL. D., and there is hardly a case of a financial manager upon whom the appellation sits more naturally than upon one who has always esteemed education and has looked into every question of letters, art, and public science with the avidity of a student.

Most of the artists of the day know Mr. Morton. His portrait and that of his wife have been painted by Bonnat.

While he was Minister to France the celebrated giant statue of Freedom was undergoing the throes of financial birth, and Mr. Morton gave to the completion of the work the interest of the American envoy's attention, and he was a leading contributor to the raising of a large model of this statue in Paris, so that the sculptor would not be without honor in his own country.

The United States was fortunately represented in Paris during the reasoning period of humility when the French, partly cured of their military ambition, were giving redoubled attention to their art. Feeling almost lonely and friendless in Europe, the attention of the American minister and his accomplished wife was very consoling to the French. Mrs. Morton was careful to hold her receptions without intermission, and her ease, tact and commanding appearance made the embassy a place of enjoyable resort.

WIFE.

This lady was the daughter of William I. Street, of Poughkeepsie, and the niece of Alfred B. Street, the Albany poet.

Mr. Morton had no children by his first marriage; his family consists at present of five daughters, all of them beneath the age which secures

the title of "young lady." It is a household of healthy, merry children, who are never found pining to return to the city, and who love the woods and continue their studies in the upland air of that noble Duchess County region, which is an extension of the Berkshire Hills into the lap of the Catskills. Mr. Street's description of "The Settler" is suggestive of the woodlands at Ellerslie:

"The paths which wound mid gorgeous trees,
The streams whose bright lips kissed their flowers,
The winds that swelled their harmonies,
Through those sun-hiding bowers,
The temple vast—the green arcade,
The nestling vale, the grassy glade,
Dark cave and swampy lair,
These scenes and sounds majestic made
His world, his pleasure there."

There are many anecdotes connected with Mr. Morton, though one is not able to extract much from him to give embellishment to his story.

He reads the sketches which come to him from the newspapers, generally from the vicinities where he spent his youth, and they make him smile and perhaps remark:

"Well, I believe that did happen, or something very much like it."

His earliest reputation was that of remarkably fair dealing combined with uninvidious enterprise.

Those who entered his little shop in Hanover,

N. H., found nothing to remind them of the grasping trader. His original employer and subsequent partner at Concord dealt in dry-goods and clothing, and Mr. Morton has performed the feat of having a whole graduating class measured for their clothes and had them supplied with dress suits from his shop.

It is said that the sign of L. P. Morton is still to be found on the old Tontine building at Hanover, and he has given to Dartmouth College, at Hanover, land on which to erect a library building.

He has put up a tablet in the Congregational Church, at Bristol, to the memory of his father; it is in Italian marble, with sculptured brackets and a Gothic cross, reading as follows:

"*In memory of the Rev. Daniel Oliver Morton, pastor of the Congregational Churches in Shoreham and Springfield, Vermont, and Winchendon, Mass., from* 1812 *to* 1841, *and of this church* (*Bristol*) *from June 8th,* 1842, *to the day of his death, March 22d,* 1852.

"*They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.*"

REFLEX.

After the general business collapse at the outbreak of the civil war, Mr. Morton was regarded by his creditors as too effective a personal quantity to be allowed to lie idle. They set him to

work again and in the course of time found that their confidence was not misplaced.

He is a very considerate man of the services of all persons, and is eminently no respecter of persons, though standing near the apex of American social refinement.

The newspaper reporters come around on errands more or less pertinent or otherwise, and they find their way to the gentleman they are in pursuit of without much difficulty, and meet with a courteous reception.

After having been minister to France, Mr. Morton returned to the United States if possible a more native character than ever. His manners and methods suit all people, and it was said while he was holding large receptions at Paris, that "Republicans, Monarchists, Imperialists, Catholics, Protestants, Free Thinkers, Diplomats, Authors, Journalists, such as were found in no other salon in Paris, were to be met there with an improved largeness of mind and absence of clannishness; while elsewhere they would have formed a menagerie; but in these American drawing-rooms they made a really happy family, their antipathies being ignored by the host and hostess, and so they cease to be antithetic and fuse as well as oil and vinegar in a salad."

When Mr. Morton was defeated for the Senate by Mr. Hiscock, Galignani observed in Paris:

"The news has been received by the American

colony in Paris with deep personal regret. By his constant courtesy and attention, his abounding and generous hospitality, his active sympathy in all good works, his personal kindness and genial character, and his devoted interest and attention to American interests, Mr. Morton won the highest respect and regard of his countrymen in Paris. It is a consolation to his friends, however, that he has not been defeated by tricky combinations nor by an unknown mediocrity, but by one of the foremost men of the nation."

In this sentence one could almost read the nature of Mr. Morton directing the pen of his friend to courtesy. Had such magnanimity been general throughout the Republican party their dissensions would not have brought their temporary retirement.

Mr. Morton's residence in Washington was the suggestion for the commencement of an apartment house in the most central portion of the city, about two blocks from the President's mansion.

He purchased the residence of the late Congressman Hooper, of Massachusetts, and other houses adjacent from the late Chief-Justice Cartter, who was the law partner of Mr. Morton's brother in Ohio, and for many years a close friend of Mr. Morton himself.

KIND.

When our public men, such as Grant, Sherman and Garfield, were in financial straits, or without homes adequate to their public services and reputation, Mr. Morton was always a reliable giver, and though his contributions cannot be traced to his own replying, the beneficiaries know the value of one who can, without extravagant wealth and much beset by the immodest, find means of putting aside something for every good example.

Among Mr. Morton's public employments have been the honorary commissionership to the Paris Exhibition in 1878, and that of Commissioner-General to the Paris Electrical Exposition.

His residence in New York city has long been at No. 85 Fifth Avenue. One sees upon entering fine portraits of Presidents Grant and Garfield. Close at hand are portraits of history, of Washington and Lafayette. Gambetta, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Morton, is also represented. The picture of President Arthur hangs close by that of Marshal MacMahon, and the photograph of Count Rochambeau. The portrait of Mr. Morton's father, in oil, is near the portrait of his mother's brother, the Rev. Levi Parsons, the first American missionary to Palestine, and from this gentleman Mr. Morton is named. An interesting thing to see in the present relevancy is a daguerreotype of the old country store in Concord, N. H., where Mr. Morton

began to sell goods. By the fireplace at Mr. Morton's house you see shells thrown into Paris by the German cannon, and they are connected by brass chains which make them a fender.

SOLID.

It must not be supposed that the candidate, though given to placation and cordiality, is without decided views on many questions.

When the oleomargarine imposition was claiming that no law nor government could put a brand upon it, Mr. Morton wrote:

"I am so heartily in accord with any proposed legislation that will protect the dairy interest, that I should deem it my duty to earnestly support the passage of any law calculated to suppress fraud in the imitation of products that go into daily consumption, especially those from the dairy, in which industry so large a number of our people are engaged."

By the way, the first nail used in the construction of the Statue of Liberty was hammered in by Mr. Morton, who accepted this statue in June, 1884. He went in person to the unveiling of the statue of Lafayette at Le Puy, the hero's birthplace.

INTERNATIONAL.

About the time that Gambetta, from his personal regard for Mr. Morton, suspended the embargo

on American pork, the minister gave a dinner, at which were present all the members of the French cabinet and the chief men in the government, including Gambetta himself, and Rouvier, afterward Prime Minister.

The extraordinary compliment was paid the host by the French cabinet—which uniformly meets in the evening—of holding its session in the morning, in order to attend the dinner.

Mr. Morton was continually extending entertainments to artists, literary men, the clergy, etc., and accepting invitations of different guilds. He presented American officers to the chiefs of the army. When he arbitrated between Venezuela and France, French journals contained the following:

"President Arthur in his message of December 7th refers to the Franco-Venezuelan dispute, the settlement of which the American government has endeavored to promote, as follows: 'In other words, Mr. Levi P. Morton has had the honor of having won for the new administration its first diplomatic success, for which—as there were no distinctly American interests involved in the question—he is entitled to the greatest credit.'"

ABROAD.

Mr. Morton was one of the subscribers to the American Charitable Fund in Paris, and his name is printed at the head of the list to the Garfield Memorial, on which the name of the Empress of Germany appears.

He gave an entertainment on the Yorktown Centenary to thirty guests, among whom were Lafayettes, Rochambeaus, and De Grasses. General Boulanger was present on one of these commemorative occasions.

The London *World*, alluding to the first reception of Mr. and Mrs. Morton, in Paris, remarked:

"Mr. Morton's reception was such as no American envoy in London has ever held. Nearly the entire cabinet was there. There were official representatives of the President, and generals, editors, and authors and artists by the dozen. Every guest was delighted at the kindly courtesy of Mr. Morton and the charming grace and tact of Mrs. Morton."

PRECURSIVE.

While in France Mr. Morton, in company with his wife, went to several of the provincial cities on errands of congratulation and respect. They visited the city of Rouen, which was desiring extended marine facilities, and the Municipality fêted them for several days. The idea was to demonstrate to the influential American Minister that Rouen would make a better seaport than Havre. Mr. Morton, in his speech at the banquet given to him in their quaint several centuries old Hotel de Ville, said: "I hope your project will be carried out, and that Rouen steamers may be seen entering the harbors of the New World. We will

load your ships for the return voyage with cotton for your looms, and—if you will allow us—with American meats, at low prices, for your workmen, and fill the cabins with customers for your beautiful fabrics and works of art and the products of your soil."

Among Mr. Morton's labors in France was the attempt to have the attitude of the French government changed with respect to American corporations. Under the old law French citizens had the power to sue American companies in the courts, whereas the companies were refused all legal recognition as plaintiffs.

Both Mr. Washburne and General Noyes failed to induce the *Conseil d'Etat* to modify its hostility to the proposed change, in which resolve it was backed up by the Minister of Commerce.

Finally Mr. Morton succeeded in inducing that Minister to withdraw his opposition, and a decree making a new order of things was published on the 9th of July, 1882.

It is as corporations that the largest enterprises in our country seek the foreign markets, and thus Mr. Morton was at the same time endeavoring to extend our agricultural opportunities with France and giving a larger foothold there to American merchants.

Since the above decree the American life insurance companies have built noble edifices in Paris and other European cities, and are doing business

tributary to this country. It was, indeed, to enable insurance companies to act abroad that the decree was obtained.

A TRUE AMERICAN.

In Mr. Morton's entertainment of Americans abroad no distinction based upon section or politics was ever observed.

Confederates, like General Gordon, of Georgia, found themselves perfectly at home with their countryman.

At the funeral of Gambetta Mr. Morton and his Secretary of Legation walked on foot over the long route to the cemetery of Pere la Chaise, and among the floral offerings few were more beautiful than those sent by the Minister and his lady. They represented the American flag, the Union being formed of violets, with the Stars in tuberoses, while the Stripes were composed of red and white rosebuds.

With impartial respect for men who had devoted themselves, mistakenly or otherwise, to the public service, Mr. Morton also attended the funeral of Louis Blanc in the early part of 1883. Said a writer:

"Mr. Morton's presence was much remarked. He was the only member of the diplomatic corps who was at the funeral; the others could have had little sympathy with Louis Blanc, either personally or as ambassadors, but Mr. Morton rightly

felt that the American Republic ought to be represented when one of the foremost republicans of Europe was laid to rest. Our Minister was at the house which Louis Blanc occupied, and from which the *cortege* started, wrote his name in the list of mourners, followed in his carriage to the cemetery, and stood by the grave."

The son of the old Congregational country minister had a catholicity of sympathy, and in the failure of Blanc's life this mark of respect was the more considerate.

HEART AT HOME.

It was during this pressure of almost uninterrupted social events in Paris that the Grace Memorial House was opened in the city of New York.

There the little children of working-women are cared for during the hours when their mothers are employed outside of their own homes. They are washed, given simple instruction, and supplied with wholesome meals. To prevent the work from having any pauperizing influence, the sum of five cents a day for each child is charged to the parents. Children are brought there daily at seven in the morning and remain till seven in the evening or later, and no inquiry is made as to race or religion.

The *Evening Post* of December 2, 1872, an-

nouncing the gift of the Grace Memorial House, had these words of Mr. Morton:

"I have been moved to this act chiefly by my desire to commemorate my late wife, Lucy Kimball Morton, to whom the scheme of Grace House, when it was first submitted to her by her pastor, at once became dear, and who before her death had expressed her intention of co-operating personally in its restoration. I am also anxious to recognize by this gift the obligations of men of business whom God has blessed in their business, to acknowledge their indebtedness to Him by gifts for the benefit of their fellow-men."

ARTIST MINISTER.

Taking an interest in international art, Mr. Morton wrote to the Secretary of State at the close of 1883:

"I respectfully submit to the Department, whether it would not be proper to suggest a liberal modification of the clause of the tariff bearing upon works of art.

"Such modification would certainly be acknowledged by the French government, and received by the large and influential artistic circles here with a feeling of warm satisfaction.

"It would also make the relations of this Legation with the French Department of Fine Arts more agreeable, and relieve the United States Minister from certain embarrassments when he

has to seek, in behalf of the American students, for the free tuition of the French Schools of Art."

When Mr. Morton went to the unveiling of the Lafayette Statue, at Puy, he presented a rare portrait of General Washington to the town, with this inscription:

"This portrait of the companion-in-arms and friend of Lafayette is presented to the *Societé de Gymnastique du Puy*, as a souvenir of the welcome which I received on the occasion of the inauguration of the Statue of Lafayette on the 6th of September, 1883."

When Bartholdi sailed to America Mr. Morton gave him a banquet and the toast, "May the great Statue of Liberty, the work and gift of France to her sister republic, the completion of which we celebrate to-night, stand at the entrance of the main harbor of the New World, as an illuminating emblem of Liberty and friendship between the two leading Republics of the globe, which God grant may last for all time to come."

DOMESTIC.

The Newport house of the Mortons is in an enclosure of four acres bordered by trees, but perfect sunshine is in the middle, where there are lawn and flower-beds; the house is a brick manor house with steep pitched roofs, of colored slate.

In 1870 Prince Arthur of England was a guest

of Mr. Morton, and General Grant and family were his guests at Newport.

The following summer Mrs. Lucy Morton died at Newport, having reached only the thirty-fifth year of her age.

Upon the death of Mr. Morton's brother in Toledo, the *Leader* of Cleveland remarked:

"He was a social, genial man—a kind and charitable man, ever ready to help the distressed, the poor, the lowly. He was devotedly attached to his family. He was beloved all along the Maumee river, where the people knew him long and well."

The Cleveland *Plaindealer* also said:

"As a public man Daniel O. Morton was able, energetic and fearlessly honest. He was among the first of the leading Democrats of Ohio to boldly and unqualifiedly repudiate the Lecompton policy of President Buchanan; and those who said he would not have done the same thing had he been retained in office, did not know the man. Very far from it: Daniel O. Morton believed the right was always expedient."

The natural fibre of this family can be seen from the success of two brothers in widely different fields, and in the independence and self-help of all their sisters.

The brothers occupied different party relations, but the gravitation of their principles was towards the same justice, freedom and patriotism.

RETROSPECT.

The term of Mr. Morton's family in America embraces almost all the drama of civilization; when his forefathers landed here Raleigh and Shakespeare were but recently deceased, and Galileo had twenty years of his life to run, and Newton was not born. It was nearly fifty years after this that Swift took birth, who was said to have been the author of the Irish Nation.

So settled was New England in the ancient ways, that only thirty-five years before the Vice-Presidential candidate was born, his grandmother was proclaimed in church "no legal resident" of the town of Goshen, because the thrifty New Englanders of the colonial time looked out only for their own poor, and were apprehensive that a new wife brought into the town might some day be a burden.

Mr. Morton's grandfather, Justin Parsons, was not only in the General Court of Massachusetts, but was elected Hog-reeve—a quaint reminder of the struggle Mr. Morton had with President Grevy to have the Western hog naturalized in France.

This old gentleman, Justin Parsons, only began to study theology at about fifty years of age, and for twenty years after that regularly preached in the heart of the Green Mountains, with a stalwart frame, white hair, ruddy cheeks, beaming and benevolent eye and apostolic simplicity. When

he and his horse came in sight, the saying was, "Here comes Father Parsons."

It was the son of this old gentleman (who was good at trading a horse or selecting a text) who went to Jerusalem in 1821 and died in Alexandria, Egypt.

There is a legend, not disputed by the candidate, that the first money he ever earned was for ringing the church-bell in the town of Winchendon.

COMING NEARER.

The address of Mr. Morton to the committee appointed to advise him of his nomination—which was headed by Mr. Estee, of California—contains a proper reference to the honor paid to the State of New York, which, for its influence in the country, has been frequently overlooked in our larger politics.

The first Chief-Justice was taken from this State, but the Presidential honor was only directly conferred upon it in the cases of Van Buren and Cleveland. The Republican party has never selected the Presidential candidate from New York, though Mr. Seward in this State was the chief founder of that party.

Mr. Morton remarked:

"I am also deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon the State of New York in the selection of a citizen of this State as one of the

standard-bearers in the approaching peaceful conflict of the two great political parties of the country for supremacy and the governmental control.

"New York represents in a large degree the business interests of all those ever-growing, widespreading communities of varied interests and industries, which it is the mission of the Republican party to foster and protect."

ROUND ABOUT.

Mr. Morton was really brought into active politics at the entreaty of the late President Arthur, who was, in 1876, the party leader in the city of New York, and anxious to find men who would draw voters out of the general citizenship. The Boston *Advertiser* of a late date embodied the main traits of Mr. Morton as a member of Congress in the article which announced his nomination, as follows:

"In his Congressional service of four years he was true to principle and independent and fearless in action. He spoke only when the right demanded speech. He spoke with terseness, clearness and sincerity. His colleagues, knowing his singleness of purpose, accepted his statements without question and weighed his arguments attentively. None of his addresses, bristling with facts, out of his long experience in commerce and finance, exceeded fifteen minutes

in delivery; yet they were conceded to be the strongest appeals that were made."

Mr. Morton's interest in the college which he had designed to enter and where his brother was graduated, has been as regardful as one of its Alumni.

Just before the national conventions met, the Trustees of Middleboro College established a "Morton Professorship" of Latin and French, upon the basis of ten thousand dollars' gift from Mr. Morton—which sum was increased his other friends of the college.

In the academy at Evansville, Ind., where Mr. Morton's eldest sister was a principal, were educated John W. Foster, the American minister to several countries, Mrs. Justice Harlan and Mrs. Samuel Bayard. Mr. Morton went out to see his sisters in the West—and two of his sisters are said to have been twins.

A bit of story is told about these sisters, which may be true.

Mr. Hartpence, the minister, fell in love with one of them, and she informed him that she did not believe she was adapted to be a minister's wife, but that she had a twin sister—so much like herself in appearance that their own relatives could hardly tell them apart—but who had a very different disposition and was adapted for parsonage life; it is said that Mr. Hartpence married the sister on the recommendation of

the twin. The Evansville Academy was established before the day of free schools in Indiana.

COUNTRY HOME.

The pleasant Morton estate, of Ellerslie, N. Y., was bought from the Indians in 1686, in the time of Governor Dongan; for a long time it was in possession of the Kip family, who sold it in 1814 to Maturin Livingston, husband of the only child of Governor Morgan Lewis. It was Livingston who erected the former mansion, which Mr. Morton has recently removed.

In 1841 the grounds belonged to William Kelly, of New York, who paid $42,000 for 400 acres of the property, and made it the centre of a park of 500 acres.

As the general reader may like to know what are the impressions of a bright new place like this, I will say that the main house is architectural, but in tone exceedingly quiet, verandas enclosing nearly three sides of the villa, and on two sides these verandas have a circular extension opposite circular bays in the walls.

The principal feature is probably the hall, which is twenty-five feet wide, and it is ribbed above with twenty-seven black oak beams, and wainscoted in oak to a considerable height.

Upon this hall open nearly all the apartments of the first floor, consisting of a library which communicates with the dining-room, and is Mr.

Morton's place of study and work; a drawing-room, which has a more private *salon* at its angle, a billiard room at the corner, and two offices for clerks or visitors.

The stairway is recessed from the hall, and is very easy of ascent and correspondingly roundabout; and opposite the stairway is a fireplace, to make the hall sprightly in dark or coolish weather.

Wood is liberally used throughout this house for wainscotings, and the dining-room is wainscoted to the height of perhaps twelve feet, in oak panels.

The second and third floors are built quite open, with a large area at the centre of the house, on which open doors to each room; the general finish of the walls is in hard, white plaster. The external woodwork and verandas are painted of a dark, brownish red.

Close by is a laundry in a separate building, and the stables.

Work is being done upon the roads and grounds constantly. By the aid of a lake or pond, water is forced into a tank in a bit of woods, and thence carried into the buildings.

As I was riding to the station, after spending a night at Ellerslie, I remarked to the coachman that Mr. Morton seemed to be an equal tempered man.

"Yes," said he; "I have been with him for nine

ELLERSLIE.

years, and I have never seen him out of temper, or complaining, or sick yet."

Mr. Kelly aforesaid did a great deal of work on Ellerslie Park, and showed good taste in preserving the clumps of trees, and sowing wheat between them, so that as one looks out from the southern windows of the mansion, where the best breeze enters, he can see roundish spots of forest arborage and the wheat and corn, with their yellow contrasts; the line of the river is strongly indented in capes and headlands, and in the distant middle ground is an island and a lighthouse, whilst the rift of the Highlands, which separates the West from the East, gives access to the great city and the ocean.

Twenty years ago Hudson river property was rather out of fashion, from the tendency of families of means to come to the city and to spend their summers at hotels. Under the good influence of more recent times—the Americans having visited foreign countries and concluded that their own was the best—this river property has come into not merely fashion, but affection.

The woodwork throughout Mr. Morton's house is representative of the American forest—from the California red wood and black walnut to antique oak, white pine, ash and cherry.

DIGRESSION.

Hitherto the nominating Conventions of both

parties have confined their choice to either military men, lawyers or politicians. The merchant, as such, has never been recognized for either place upon the electoral ticket.

Yet the merchant, and especially the merchant banker, is the quantity first held in recognition after a ticket is chosen, to give his influence and contribution.

In the early portion of the Republican century the slave-holding interest, which had the incentive of defensive organization against the progress of days, took possession of the executive government, giving the Vice-Presidency at times to some Eastern or Western man as a makeshift.

Dewitt Clinton, who established the water communications of New York, and therefore the commonwealth, never was able to run for as much as the Vice-Presidency. Mr. VanBuren was the first President who took into account the utility of literary men like Irving and Paulding for executive and foreign places. Both Fillmore and Arthur became Presidents by the accident of the death of the President.

It was Arthur who began to see that the very uncertain political bias of the State of New York required its commercial element to be brought into public life.

He had been the collector of the port for a long term, and as the son of a minister, with a wife well qualified for social leadership, he began

to look about him among the cordial-minded merchants and fiscal characters of the city.

There was no man who seemed so well adapted for the public trial as Mr. Morton.

That selection has borne fruit in the course of only twelve years, so that Congressman Morton is now in the second position of prominence which a political party has the power to confer.

He appeals to the self-respect of the mercantile element of the land, which has allowed itself for almost a century to be overlooked by political caucuses and conventions.

He presents the instance of a man who had no adventitious circumstances to advance him, whose chief endowments were honesty and cheerfulness, and who has always separated himself from dubious alliances; who has reflected upon no man, but has held up the example of his childhood, believing that "uprightness is worth," and that in the family is compensation for career.

His election to the Vice-Presidency would be in the line of that real civil service which requires our politics to be recruited from the nobler walks of life and the higher paths of responsibility.

American merchants have been called upon to come to the relief of political parties, to provide for the families of deceased or unfortunate public men, to lend their names to public meetings, and after the conflict had been over the distribution of favors has returned to the political class which

is ever hungry and is invidious about the claims of commercial supporters. New York State, with its driving heart in New York city, has finally extricated from the usual coterie of competitors a man who was a merchant until he had learned that art in every particular. This is an age of surprises and of changes; and surely what is needed in the American character is mercantile honor. Not even the exigencies of political opposition can make his countrymen believe that Mr. Morton has been other than a faithful citizen and sound merchant, a reliable banker, a gentle and manly host.

THE IRISH FAMINE.

One of Mr. Morton's thoughtful acts of charity took place in the year 1880. There was a famine at the time in Ireland, and loud calls for help were made, especially to the American people. A committee was formed and appeals were generally made for contributions, and the government was induced to offer the old ship *Constellation* to take the American donations to the Irish.

It leaked out in a little while that there were no contributions to freight the ship.

At this juncture a letter was received by the New York *Herald*, which was doing work for the sufferers. The letter read as follows:

"NEW YORK, March 9, 1880.

"*To the Editor of the Herald:*

"I learned from the Secretary of the Navy that the ship *Constellation*,

which he proposes to send with contributions of food to Ireland under the authority of the joint resolution of both houses of Congress approved February 25, 1880, is at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and that no tenders of cargo have been made.

"You are authorized to announce that a gentleman personally known to you, who declines to have his name made public, offers to pay for one-quarter of the cargo of the *Constellation* if other parties will make up the balance.

"The capacity of the ship is equal to 2,300 barrels of flour, but her cargo should be made up of flour, oatmeal and seed potatoes, which last would arrive in time for planting, and replace those which the sufferers have been forced to use to sustain life. I shall desire the distribution of the cargo to be made by Mr. Bennett's Committee.

"As you are aware, those articles of food will be delivered free of cost save to the government. If you approve the idea you can make the proposition without (for the present at least) using my name. You may assume to guarantee the performance of my offer.

"Believe me, very truly yours,
"A FRIEND."

The *Herald* then editorially called loudly for seconders of this proposition. It said:

"This gentleman, who is personally known to us and whose responsibility we can so safely announce that we assume to guarantee the performance of his offer, proposes to pay for one-quarter of the cargo. The *Herald* offers to bear the expense of another quarter of a full cargo for the *Constellation* on the same condition made by this gentleman, namely—'if other parties will make up the balance.'"

Thereupon scattering contributions came in; in one case of 100 barrels of potatoes, in another of five barrels, etc.

By the 16th of March the *Constellation* was getting ready for her voyage. Edward E. Potter

was made commander of the ship by the Secretary of the Navy.

On the 17th of March Mr. W. R. Grace, afterward mayor of the city, gave one-quarter further of the ship's cargo.

General contributions were not forthcoming however; and the *Herald* announced, nine days after Mr. Morton's letter:

"The *Constellation* will have a full cargo within a few days. This splendid success is in great part due to the eminently benevolent thought of an anonymous citizen of New York, who set the ball in motion by offering to pay for one-quarter of the cargo of the *Constellation* provided the other three-quarters were made up, and the *Herald* offered to defray the cost of another quarter on the same condition. It is now certain that a full cargo will be supplied, and we accept, for the anonymous citizen who started this movement, and for ourselves, the obligation and furnish our respective quarters without awaiting the final fulfilment of the proposed condition.

"The first two offers have ceased to be conditional.

"The anonymous gentleman will supply one-quarter of the cargo and the *Herald* another one-quarter without awaiting further pledges of contributions."

Finally the Messrs. Thurber gave 300 barrels to complete the cargo. When the ship was put

in commission and was ready to start the *Herald* said:

"We congratulate the friends of suffering Ireland that this first cargo has been so promptly made up. This is due in great part to the distinguished citizen who so generously started the movement. There is no reason why we should any longer conceal his name. As his offer was conditional, and it was uncertain whether the condition would be complied with, he had a reluctance to see his name connected with an offer which he might not be called upon to fulfil. But now that the cargo is complete and the offer binding we take the liberty to state that the generous donor who infused life into this movement is Hon. Levi P. Morton."

THE IRISH VOYAGE.

Towards the time of the *Constellation's* sailing it was found that her entire cargo consisted of 1,271 barrels of potatoes, 673 barrels of flour, 750 barrels of corn-meal, 150 barrels of oatmeal, 100 suits of clothing, and 55 cases of prepared meats.

The *Constellation* had sailed for Havre with goods for the French Exposition in 1878; her crew to Ireland consisted of 79 men and 17 officers—some of the former naval apprentices.

Mr. Morton's contribution, as the *Herald* printed it finally, was 325 barrels of potatoes, 256

barrels of corn-meal, 300 barrels of flour, and 50 barrels of oatmeal, a total of 831 barrels.

The *Constellation* arrived at Queenstown April the 20th. The Duke of Edinburgh soon came aboard, and it was reported that in the region of Galway the people only had food for five days left, so that it was immediately necessary to forward these American supplies.

As the different British tugs and transports took off food to run it to seaports adjacent to the famine, each vessel floated the American flag; and finally the entire line of shipping around the harbor was clothed in Yankee bunting. The city of Cork gave a banquet to the officers of the ship, and the Prince of Wales there remarked:

"My brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, has been for five or six weeks absent on duty in Ireland, where he has lately had the opportunity of taking supplies for distribution on the west coast from that gallant ship, the *Constellation*, sent over by our American cousins so nobly and generously, to afford relief to their distressed brethren in Ireland."

Among the middies of the ship was young Halpine, the son of General Halpine, otherwise known as "Miles O'Reilly."

The freedom of the city of Dublin was conferred on Captain Potter; and an Irish paper remarked:

"The last barrel was taken from the ship on

Monday. Every ounce of meal has before this time been distributed over the district extending from Cork to Donegal. Almost the entire cargo has gone to the islands and to the most distant points along the coast, to which assistance from the relief funds cannot be sent so regularly or so often as to more inland places."

Such is the plain story of the relief for the Irish famine.

Thus, within a very few years, Mr. Morton had assisted to settle differences between England and America, and had put in motion a comprehensive system of relief from the Irish famine. He had proved that the quality of mercy is not strained, and that wherever there is "a place beneath" in need of that "gentle rain," whether America or Ireland or England, there the charity should fall.

WALK BACK.

The history of Mr. Morton's political life is short and to the point.

He first ran for Congress in the year 1876, not coming forward till six days before the election. What is generally called the "Windsor" district in New York was in dispute; it stretches from the upper city to Harlem on both sides of Fifth Avenue, and was held at the time by Mr. Benjamin Willis, a forcible speaker, who omitted nothing to carry his point. So fierce was his method that

he had been sent out to Ohio to stump General Garfield's district and beat him for Congress at a time when sensation was running at a gallop through the land.

Mr. Morton might have been supposed to be the last person who would buckle against such a competitor, but his tranquillity is far removed from the sense of alarm.

He accepted the nomination for Congress in the following language:

No. 503 *Fifth Avenue*,
NEW YORK, October 31, 1876.

"*Gentlemen:*

"I am in receipt of your communications advising me that I have been honored by the Republicans of this district with their unanimous nomination for Congress. It is a distinction which I have not solicited, and I am not sure of my fitness for the place. I have never been a politician, have never sought or contemplated holding office, and am by training and tastes simply a man of business. If, however, in your judgment I can serve the district and protect its interest in Congress, I shall feel constrained to regard your nomination as the call to a plain public duty which I have no right to shirk. I believe the Republic has a right to command the services of its humblest citizen, and in obedience to that conviction I accept the nomination."

Mr. Morton immediately went at public speaking. He has generally been noted for the clearness and point with which he can address a committee, whether a business or political committee. Speaking upon the stump before a general audience was not much to his experience or liking, but with a disposition popular in its quality, taking his incentive from a good purpose,

he faced the people and made such headway among them that he reduced Mr. Willis' majority from 2,500 to 400; Mr. Morton got about 12,000 votes, and they had to colonize against him from the institutions on Blackwell's Island to beat him.

He was renominated, therefore, in 1878, and elected by 7,000 majority over the same competitor. He now received 15,000 votes.

The district soon liked its representative, who was to all men the same cordial, inquisitive, attentive person, liking to hear and to see the people. He went around among them like his old Congregational pastor of a father, and hardly a man fell under the influence of that clear, bright skin and blue eye and amiable yet strong countenance, but he perceived that it is the touch of nature which makes the world kin, and that mere circumstances produce no alteration in the man whose heart is kind and whose sense is general.

In 1880 Mr. Morton ran against an accomplished and well-equipped Democrat, James W. Gerard, Jr., receiving 18,000 votes. His vote had run up from 12,000 in the first case to 15,000 in the second and 18,000 at the third trial; his majority over Willis whom he politically buried was 7,000; his majority over Mr. Gerard was 3,300.

NOTA BENE.

As newspapers have changed in the interven-

ing years largely, let us see what was said of Mr. Morton when he came in the public eye for the first time.

The *New York Times* said on the 29th of October, 1876:

"Strong desire is felt in the 11th Congressional District that Mr. L. P. Morton, of the firm of Morton, Bliss & Co., should be nominated for Congress by the union committee. No one acquainted with the district can fail to see that he would be in every sense an excellent representative. He has extensive interests in the right administration of the government. His knowledge and experience in finance, the most important branch of governmental action for some time to come, would enable him to make valuable contributions to Federal legislation, while his high character and unwavering devotion to principle would be particularly desirable. We certainly need more business men in Congress."

The *New York Evening Post* of November 6th, 1876, said:

"The nomination of Mr. L. P. Morton by the Republicans of the 11th Congressional District last evening meets our requirements in every particular. At the head of the banking house of Morton, Bliss & Co., Mr. Morton is known as one of our most successful business men. He has paid much more than ordinary attention to the study of financial subjects and he will, if elected,

be of the greatest service in the preparation and discussion of those measures for securing specie payments and for still further strengthening the credit of the country to which the Republican party stands pledged. No one is obliged to inquire of such a candidate, 'Who is he?' or 'What has he done?' The name alone carries its recommendation."

The *New York Herald* said:

"Mr. Morton has been a merchant in this city for many years, and is acquainted with the whole fabric of our commercial interests, while there is certainly no man in Congress better fitted to give a practical direction to financial legislation than the head of a house which has had a leading relation with all financial events of any consequence since the war."

The *Evening Post* again remarked about the same time:

"Few of our citizens are as well known by the leading members of Congress as Mr. Morton, and wherever he is known, he is respected for his solidity and sagacity of judgment."

The *New York Times* said, November 6th:

"In the 11th District Mr. Levi P. Morton ought to be elected to Congress by a large majority. No more fit candidate could be presented for the suffrages of such a district. He has undoubted ability, large business experience and command of knowledge of the financial questions which must engage the attention of Congress."

The *Tribune* said, when the news of the election came out:

"In the Murray Hill Congressional District, Mr. Levi P. Morton runs 4,125 ahead of the last Republican candidate, 342 ahead of Hayes and Wheeler, within 430 votes of an election. He has 135 majority exclusive of Yorkville, but that turned the scale against him. Mr. Morton has made an admirable run for a five days' canvass."

The *Commercial Advertiser* said:

"Mr. Morton's competitor, Willis, had last year a majority of nearly 3,000, but is elected this year by a majority of less than 500. Mr. Morton was beat by the halt, the lame and blind brought from the Island, marshalled under Commissioner Brennan. He may well feel proud of the result."

The *Evening Post* said:

"Mr. Morton was defeated by the voters on Randall's Island and of Ward's Island and of the Yorkville part of the district. He was really the choice as he was the fit representative of a large majority of the intelligent voters, and proved to be an exceptionally strong candidate."

The *New York World*, Democratic, said, during this campaign:

"Against Mr. Morton's individual character and his fitness to represent his district in Congress, no one who knows him can have a word to say."

ENVOY.

Mr. Morton left Congress only at the call of President Garfield to become the Minister to France in 1881; and under both Garfield and Arthur he was the French minister.

President Garfield offered him the place of Secretary of the Navy, which had been held by Mr. Paulding, who lived on the shores of the Hudson but a few miles from where Mr. Morton now resides.

Senator Conkling and many others had pressed Mr. Morton for the place of Secretary of the Treasury. Foreseeing, however, painful personalities probable to ensue in the party he so much loved, Mr. Morton preferred to go out of the country and take no part in contentions among his friends.

He had long endeavored to have Mr. Conkling reconciled to Mr. Blaine, seeing in both those gentlemen abilities and merits they might under happier circumstances have been the first to perceive mutually.

When General Garfield was nominated for President, and the general concession of the Convention was towards the State of New York, to select the Vice-Presidential candidate, Mr. Morton could have had the place, for he was a delegate in the Convention, and the western and other members preferred to vote for him. But Mr. Morton declined to be a candidate and the nom-

ination went to General Arthur, who, from this fact, finally became the President of the country.

In talking over these questions no friend of Mr. Morton can perceive any disappointment or regret in his nature. He has been the natural choice not only of the many but of the particular few for the Vice-Presidency, the Secretaryship of the Treasury, and the United States Senate. Both Mr. Evarts and Mr. Hiscock defeated Mr. Morton for the Senate, and he is friendly with both. Not the least echo of chagrin or recrimination has ever followed the loss of any of these places. One man in the country has shown not only his capacity to endure but to endure without any evil thinking. Had this nature found imitators all over the land, the Republican party would not have had to score against itself four years of exile from office.

Mr. Morton has a fund of memories upon which he draws most scantily. The quality of appreciation in him is so strong that one observes with wonder that it does not extend to the quality of imagination. His patriotism is of that noble sort which recognizing the excellencies of other lands holds fondly to the best in its own.

Whilst the fabric of the man holds in solution all the best Puritan elements, the expression of those elements is never harsh; this physical nature which shines and has its seasons and comes forth after every vicissitude, is to the subject of our

sketch the blessing of Heaven. He has smiled upon the world and it has replied with a smile. Never parsimonious he has been so grateful for Nature's bounty that to him everything has come a little late.

He married late. His children came to him late in life, as a young man would think. Public honors came. to him late. Many politicians would have been fagged out long ago by the casualties which interrupted Mr. Morton's promotion; he waited, and the Vice-Presidency came to him without a struggle. He hesitated about accepting it, but in the words of the old housekeeper, took the will for the deed. He thought that those who could tender a great office, deserved the acceptance of it.

REMINISCENCE.

When he was living at Hanover, he boarded in the family of Professor E. D. Sanborn, who married the niece of Daniel Webster. Mrs. Sanborn was the daughter of Daniel Webster's only brother. There might have begun a certain tendency to public life in the table talk.

But the element in New England to which Mr. Morton belongs is always appreciative of public life if it comes upon the tender of a neighborly and honorable duty. He does not need associations or reminiscences to suggest to him that the citizen in America, like his forefathers in the town government of New England, is to take his

gun or his book of statutes or serve in the sheriff's posse whenever called upon.

Decided in his views, heartily believing that the intelligent majority of the American people are anointed to govern, and satisfied that everything will be well if we only obey and submit and strive, Mr. Morton impresses every one as the citizen above all things, he who has discerned in public opinion a noble friend and master, and by that discernment lives in his great taskmaster's eye cheerfully.

President Hinsdale, the successor of President Garfield at Hiram College, Ohio, said to a reporter at Cleveland:

"On the Saturday before his departure for Washington, from Mentor, General Garfield said to me: 'I have told no one what the composition of my cabinet will be, but I am going to tell you.' He named Levi P. Morton for Secretary of the Navy." Said Mr. Hinsdale further,

"Morton had been tendered the Secretaryship of the Navy and had accepted, but after the arrival of General Garfield at Washington, he was persuaded to resign that position."

VARIOUS ITEMS.

While in Congress Mr. Morton resided in the house of Samuel Hooper, deceased, which was also for a time the quarters of President Johnson and the scene of Mr. Sumner's courtship.

During Mr. Morton's first campaign for Congress he made a speech at Parepa Hall, New York, embodying the following views:

"The vital questions of the day are: Shall the national honor be maintained? Shall the solemn promise made for the payment of the debt incurred for the salvation of the country be held inviolate? Shall the currency which the working man receives for his labor have the same purchasing power as gold? I am in favor of fulfilling all the National promises, of the resumption of specie payment on the first of January next, of a currency redeemable in gold, and of inflation, an an inflation that will make current money of the $250,000,000 in gold now lying idle in the vaults of the Treasury and the banks. I am in favor of opening the Harlem and East rivers for navigation, and of any and all measures that will tend to give increased facilities to the commerce of this great city."

The draft for five million five hundred thousand dollars in the Halifax award was made by this government upon Morton, Rose & Co., of London, with the proviso:

"Her Britannic Majesty's Government should be distinctly advised that the Government of the United States cannot accept of the Halifax commission as furnishing any just measure of the value of a participation of our citizens in the inshore fisheries of the British provinces, and it

protests against the actual payment now made being considered by Her Majesty's Government as in any sense an acquiescence in such measure."

The year Mr. Morton was sent to Congress, 1878, was an extraordinary political year. The State sent twenty-four Republicans instead of seventeen, as before, to Congress, redeemed Massachusetts, made Edward Cooper Mayor of New York by 20,000 majority, and elected Warner Miller to Congress by 3,000 majority. The high water mark in character made that year in the election of Congressmen was one of the causes of the election of Garfield and Arthur toward the close of that Congress, to which election Mr. Morton was a liberal contributor. Upon his election Mr. Morton said in front of his residence, to a great assemblage :

"To the citizens of this district, to that great power, the press of this city, to my old associates the merchants of New York who gave me the endorsement, far too complimentary, which I first saw in the morning papers, and to my personal friends, who have neglected their own interests in their devotion to my canvass, I owe a debt of gratitude so far beyond my ability to repay that I must ask them to fund it at a low rate of interest."

At the commencement of 1879 Mr. Morton was at the head of the nominating committee of the Union League, when attempts were made to

subvert that organization, and his committee announced their views as follows:

"That the club should not abandon the patriotic sentiments which gave it life; that it should still keep the duties of good citizenship prominently among its objects, and let its voice be heard and its strength be felt whenever great principles of national policy or good government are at stake; that the performance of the public and the patriotic duty of the club is entirely consistent with the highest development of its social characteristics."

The attitude of the Union League Club, at that time, had much to do with the selection of General Arthur for Vice-President, and his subsequent tranquil administration. At the birthday of Lincoln in 1879 Mr. Morton made an address before the Lincoln Club, saying:

"We live to preserve to those who follow us a united country which, under the guidance of Lincoln, with God's blessing was saved by the heroic service of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Farragut, Porter and the million brave men who risked or gave their lives that the nation might live."

IN LEGISLATION.

The newspapers announced early in April, 1879, that Secretary Sherman was closeted the greater part of the afternoon with Mr. Baker of

the First National Bank of New York and Mr. L. P. Morton, of Morton, Bliss & Co., completing the arrangements for the huge subscription to the four per cent. loan which clears out the remaining ten-forties."

Harpers' Weekly announced in 1879: "There is little doubt that reasonable bi-metalism has made recently very rapid progress in public favor, and the speech of Mr. Morton of New York, terse and vigorous as it was, and Mr. McCulloch's lecture at Cambridge, are striking illustrations of the fact."

Mr. Morton in Congress was one of a subcommittee to draw up resolutions in regard to the treatment of American Jews in foreign countries, demanding that they be placed on a footing of equal dignity with other United States citizens.

The *London Daily News* quoted from Mr. Morton in an issue about that time, as saying, in effect, to the leading commercial nations of the world:

"We will not attempt to help you out of your troubles until you agree with us to use silver as a measure of value. We are ready to enter into such a mutual compact with you as will have the effect of restoring silver to its old steadiness of value, so that it may again be a measure of other values. The day is not far distant when the city of New York will the clearing house for the commercial exchanges of the world."

Mr. Morton reported the resolution from the committee on foreign affairs to appoint commissioners and have the United States well represented at both the Australian exhibitions.

He also introduced a bill to make cable telegraphy free with respect to equal rights for all about landing cables on our coasts, and pursuant to that bill additional cables were soon put down, so that for the past year or two cable rates to Europe have been a New York shilling a word instead of four English shillings a word.

In one of his addresses before his constituency Mr. Morton used the following language:

"Republican financial policy, despite Democratic abuse, has achieved the successful resumption of specie payments and restored confidence and brought renewed prosperity throughout the land, reduced the national interest-bearing debt from twenty-four hundred millions in 1865 to eighteen hundred millions, and the annual interest charge from one hundred and fifty-one millions to eighty-four millions. Will the Democrats of the North, who stood by Abraham Lincoln and the army of the Union, under the heroic leadership of Grant, now consent to place the control of the national government in the hands of the men who sought its destruction? Will they support the financial policy of the Democratic party, controlled by a solid South? I believe not. Let the Democrats and Republicans of New York unite

once more and declare in loud tones on the fourth of November that the Republic of the United States is a nation and not a confederacy of States; that every citizen of the United States shall have a free vote, and that the honor and good faith of the republic shall be held sacred for all time."

Mr. Morton introduced bills in Congress to facilitate the negotiation of bills of lading, to relieve the sugar refiners from a dubious standard of color as the sole basis of dutiable value, and many other measures.

He advocated the appropriation of twenty thousand dollars to make the fine exhibit of American fish and fisheries at Berlin, where the Americans captured the main prize. This speech was replete with figures on the fishery question. The rapid propagation of fish in American rivers and bays and their consequent cheapening, especially to the people of the interior, are largely due to Mr. Morton's efforts in Congress.

The regulation and purification of the foreign immigrant system was of Mr. Morton's moving in Congress, and hence at the present day the government returns to the countries guilty of the inhumanity of shipping them to us, the infirm paupers, criminals and idiots who were formerly turned into the body of American citizenship.

Among the numerous newspaper bits bearing upon the record of Mr. Morton I find that when five hundred mechanics on the big hotel at Rock-

away, Long Beach, were unable to get their wages and their families were absolutely without bread, the new receiver of the property stated the case to Mr. Morton, who drew his check for the relief of those mechanics, buying the certificates at par without discount, though he probably felt that they might be so much moonshine. Mr. Drexel had an equal part in this generosity.

MAN OF PEACE.

Coincident with Mr. Morton's second marriage the newspaper files show that he was before the Committee of Ways and Means in the early part of 1873, making a statement on the subject of the new funding bill and of the syndicate to impress the conviction that the 6 per cent. bonds could be funded at 5 per cent.

The first syndicate, that of 1871, omitted the Drexels, the Barings, J. S. Morgan & Co. and Morton, Bliss & Co. These firms came into the second negotiation, with a proposition to take at least one hundred million dollars of the new bonds. Ultimately, the several bankers, old and new, harmoniously took the whole three hundred millions.

It was this low funding of our bonds in 1873 which prepared the way for Mr. Sherman to resume specie payments a few years afterward.

As a prominent member of the Union League Club, Mr. Morton was one of the signers of the

majority report at the time of the Louisiana interference by the administration. A frantic attempt had been made at that time to disparage General Grant, and the club was being pressed by certain of the papers to formulate such hostility, of which the Republican party was constantly the object of persecution from within. The majority report expressed the view that:

"Military interference with the organization of any body of men being or claiming to be entitled to exercise the legislative sovereignty of such a State is most dangerous to republican institutions. . . . While we thus condemn the principle of military interference in the affairs of the State, it is due to truth and justice to say that no evidence appears of the action on the part of officers in command in Louisiana to favor either one or the other of the contesting political parties, or to interfere for any purpose other than to restrain physical violence and preserve the peace; and that the people of the United States owe a debt of respect and gratitude to Lieutenant-General Sheridan for his great services during the Rebellion, to balance and cancel a much more serious fault than any he may have committed while performing duties of great delicacy at a distance from the Commander-in-Chief and his constitutional advisers, and in the face of persons and interests whom but lately he had met in a state of war and been compelled to conquer as enemies."

The sequel proves all things. In June, when Mr. Morton was placed on the Republican ticket for Vice-President, General Sheridan was the national invalid, having had the endorsements of the political conventions of both parties during the present year without a dissenting voice. As General Grant, who was so often traduced and the endeavor made to segregate him from the public support, passed to his tomb amid universal lamentations, so the death of his trusted and chosen friend in August has evoked equal expression of the nation's loss.

The *New York World*, of April 12, 1878, said:

"Secretary Sherman yesterday afternoon succeeded in accomplishing the object of his present visit to New York, and arranged for the disposal of $50,000,000 bonds, from which sale he is of the opinion that he will obtain enough gold to carry out his scheme of resumption on the 1st of January, 1879. The last of a number of conferences that the Secretary has had with bankers and bank officers relative to this matter was held at the Sub-Treasury yesterday."

It appears that there were about half a dozen callers upon the Secretary that day, and at the conclusion of the interview the agreement was published. Ten million dollars were at once to be put up and during the rest of the year five million dollars per month. The new bonds, bearing 4½ per cent. interest, were sold at par and ac-

crued interest and 1½ per cent. premium in gold coin.

There were five individuals taking this resumption loan on behalf of their several firms, and the third name in the list was that of Morton, Bliss & Co. The bonds at once advanced one-quarter of one per cent.

The *World* stated that the terms obtained by the Secretary from the syndicate were 1½ per cent. more advantageous to the government than those offered by the National banks.

Such was the operation which brought about "the crowning mercy" of the restoration of specie, or of our currency to the rank of specie.

Since that time an American greenback or a National Bank note can be used anywhere in Europe at par, like Bank of England notes or the notes of the Bank of France. Free and full trade, in the sense of universal money, has since gone along until the revenues of this government easily exceed its ordinary necessities.

BITS OF BIOGRAPHY.

It was on the 20th of January that Mr. Morton lost his only son, Louis Parsons, in London, who died in infancy. The loss was keenly felt by the parents.

Mrs. Morton, by the way, is a near relative of the Phil. Kearny family, with their numerous Knickerbocker connections on both sides of the Hudson river.

The following suggestive notice appeared in the *New York Times* for 1868:

"We were permitted yesterday to look at a costly and elaborate service of silver plate just executed on the order of a committee from ten or twelve of our city banks designed as a compliment to an honorable and high-toned merchant, who, some years after his legal release by composition of debts incurred in less fortunate days than he now enjoys, voluntarily stepped forward and paid up the balances due upon his old liabilities. The plate and legend upon it may proudly be transmitted as heirlooms to his family."

ALLY.

One of the most interesting political incidents in the life of Levi P. Morton was his appearance at the celebrated Warren (Ohio) meeting in the vicinity of General Garfield's home at Mentor. Some factional feeling was operating to the disadvantage of the Republican national ticket. It was felt that General Grant held in his hands the talisman of harmony. Grant thereupon, though an ex-President, went to the front and brought about the meeting between Garfield and Conkling and others.

Mr. Morton rode in the carriage with Grant, Conkling and Logan from the station up to General Garfield's house.

The following February, according to the news-

paper accounts, Mr. Conkling made a special visit to Mentor to have Mr. Morton made Secretary of the Treasury. Ultimately Senator Windom was selected, and in the course of time dissensions overwhelmed the State of New York.

Mr. Morton, enjoying the friendship of Mr. Conkling, whose talents he admired, labored with all tact and assiduity for years to bring about a reconciliation between that gentleman and Mr. Blaine. But too much time had intervened and officious tongues had prattled their deadliest. The principals were very opposite in temperament, and it seemed to be one of those cases where the awkwardness of coming together was greater than the public necessities to be overcome. And so of this quarrel it might be said, as King Henry the Fourth observed when he saw at Dijon the mark of the stab in the leather doublet of the Duke Jean sans Peur: "Through that rent the English invaded France."

Within a week after President Garfield was inaugurated, he sent to the Senate his nominations, and at the head of the list was the name of Mr. Morton for the French mission.

COURTESIES.

The address of Mr. Morton when he was received by President Grévy at the Palace of the Elysée merits an extract. General Noyes was the retiring Minister, and he presented Mr. Morton, who said among other things:

"America would desire not only to express more warmly, in this year of the Centennial commemoration of our ancient alliance, her gratitude for services rendered in the infancy of her existence, and the earnest hope that this long unbroken amity may be perpetuated, but also to greet you as friends in the great work of securing popular freedom under the control of established law.

"This sentiment binds the two leading Republics of the world. Both have struggled for free government, and both now enjoy what was defined by our martyred Lincoln as 'a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.' America is proud to occupy with France the foremost rank in the grand march of nations towards that political emancipation which gives every man a voice in his country's government.

"Believing that by such a government only can a nation permanently prosper, if it be my fortune in any way to strengthen this common bond of sympathy and cement the friendship of a hundred years, I feel that I shall have fulfilled the trust reposed in me by the government whose partiality enables me to present these sentiments to the President."

When Mr. Morton left the Paris mission a banquet was tendered him by the Americans resident in Paris, and the orator chosen to speak for them said: "You have strengthened the bonds that unite the two republics, and you have secured

for our citizens in France advantages which they did not previously possess. Your home has been the scene of a most generous and genial hospitality; to every work of charity you have been a devoted friend and supporter; you have extended to every citizen of our country, however humble, assistance and protection whenever needed; and in the long list of distinguished men who have filled the eminent position of American Minister in France we feel there is not one who has been more faithful and devoted in maintaining national interests."

M. Floquet, the present Prime Minister of France, and the hero of the recent duel with Boulanger, speaking at this farewell banquet to Mr. Morton, said:

"Pray accept without scruple, dear Mr. Morton, in the spirit in which we convey them to you and without reserve our thanks for the manner in which you have discharged your duties among us. All who have been brought into contact with and have known you can find nothing but praise for you, and will ever remain grateful to you.

"Be pleased to convey to Mrs. Morton our respectful homage. All her exquisite qualities rendered her worthy to be at the head of that brilliant American colony which constitutes one of the most graceful ornaments of our Parisian society.

"Her charms of manner and mind blend well with the courteous gravity of your temper and

habits, and you have made of your house one of those in which hospitality was of the most amiable kind and eagerly sought after. Be sure that among us neither of you will be forgotten."

Mr. McLane, the new Minister there, remarked: "We can all unite in cordial and generous courtesy to our guest, recognizing the fidelity and ability with which he has represented our country in France."

At the death of President Garfield, Mr. Morton convened the Americans of Paris in the American chapel, and called the pastor to the chair. Among the Vice-Chairmen were General McClellan and John Jacob Astor. The Committee on Resolutions was taken from both sections of the country and from both political parties, comprising Governor Hoffman, of New York, Senator Randall Gibson, Mr. Benjamin Wood, among others. Messrs. Daniel Dougherty, John Day, and William Allen Butler made addresses. American cannon, made by Mr. Hotchkiss in Paris, were fired at the funeral salute. Mr. Morton said at the services:

"The death of General Garfield is to me the loss of a personal friend. My first acquaintance with him commenced with the opening of the extra session of the 46th Congress. I was attracted by his genial, cordial manner, and soon learned to admire his qualities of head and heart. During every session of Congress since we have had

almost daily friendly personal intercourse. I can see his manly form before me now, standing on the floor of the House of Representatives, with his uplifted arm; I can hear his strong, sympathetic voice, and see every face on both sides of the chamber and in the galleries turned to catch every word that falls from his lips. That voice—the voice of the President of a nation of fifty millions of people—is hushed in death, and has no more 'the power of listening senates to command.'"

During all of Mr. Morton's life he has been considerate of the interests and privileges of the members of the press. It might be supposed that a man of large social character and with abundant great operations upon his mind would overlook the competitions of the reporters for the daily news. But on the contrary, Mr. Morton has regarded the Press as an institution which would respond to a courtesy, and take its tone from that society which was most patient and forbearing with it. Galignani, in Paris, remarked, after the Garfield obsequies:

"Not content with always receiving most courteously at the Legation the representatives of the press, and replying to every inquiry for eighty days for copies of the official bulletins there, which were the most reliable sources of European information, and daily perused by millions of sympathetic readers, the Legation of Mr. Morton has

anticipated the wishes of the journals, and we return the most grateful thanks to the Minister and his Secretaries, always accomplished and courteous. Profound respect has always existed for the diplomatic representatives of the great Republic; but under the terrible suspense and anxieties of the past two months such has been the courtesy there that the Minister has won a grateful and personal regard, which cannot but strengthen his official influence. But for his own persistent declination, by the accident of the death of General Garfield, Mr. Morton would to-day be the occupant of the White House as President of the United States."

The erection at the city of Washington of a statue, or group, commemorative of the French alliance with America, is one of the pleasant results of that series of interchanges of artistic presents which began when Mr. Morton was the French Minister.

From his address when he drove the rivet in the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty, we take this extract:

"The names of Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Noailles and others associated with this new evidence of your friendship, have been household words in the Republic of the New World since their ancestors and their associates gave so freely of their blood and treasure to secure its independence. I should add to this roll one, if I may be permitted to do so in his presence—the name of

your distinguished chairman, the gifted interpreter to the French people of our political institutions and the national constitution (Laboulaye), and now to this roll is to be added the name of August Bartholdi."

After this honorable commission had returned to their native land from their memorable mission of international friendship, the French Government expressed its obligation to their American host by an artistic memorial of their visit. The accompanying letter is translated as follows:

"PARIS, 15th of April, 1888.

"*My Dear Mr. Morton:*

"I am officially intrusted by the French delegation present at the inauguration of the Statue of Liberty with the pleasant duty to express to you their compliments and thanks for your kind reception of the French guests.

"As our government has granted us the disposal of some objects of the Sèvres National Manufactory to be offered to our American friends, President Grévy has graciously been pleased to place at our disposal for you the lovely bust in Sèvres porcelain which he always keeps for his own presenting.

"This object, addressed to you, will reach you through the care of the French Consul in New York. Our present, notwithstanding the real value of all that is produced by the celebrated institution of Sèvres, is merely, considering all you have done for us, a very modest token of our friendship, but we beg you to look at it as if it were a plain '*Carte de visite*,' and to only think of the feelings attached to it, our sincere thoughts of gratitude.

"We would request you also, dear sir, to be so kind as to present Mrs. Morton with the homages of the whole delegation, as well as their sincere thanks for her gracious welcome.

"To the foregoing I would join the assurance of my personal devotion, and remain, dear sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"On behalf of the French Delegation,

"(Signed) BARTHOLDI.

"To the Hon. L. P. MORTON, New York."

WHAT SHALL THE VERDICT BE?

The limits of this sketch have already been exceeded. There has been no consultation with Mr. Morton as to the method of conveying these facts or discriminating among them for publication. The general result of the study is a citizen whose family has been long in the land, whose parents and their predecessors were religious and social instructors and pastors over communities, whose own life commenced under the strain of difficulties, but whose temperament and manners were from the beginning those of one who was grateful for life and opportunity, and who, without mental anxiety, with faith in his neighbors and his day, grew rather than pressed onward, letting every year have its full due of time and services, until he was beckoned to come up higher by his seniors and employers, and, finally, when he was ready for an independent mercantile existence, was heartily joined by partners of his selection. When he put aside the mercantile branches and took up the business of banking as the natural outgrowth of nearly a quarter of a century of commerce, he kept his faith large, his charity fresh and his hope temperate yet strong.

Entering public life without either fear or ambition, he speedily became a favorite by both the democracy and the dignity of his intercourse, until legislatures and administrations held him in view.

In defeat he was uncomplaining, and in success moderate.

At last the Vice-Presidency is extended to him at the hands of some who had been his opponents but could never find in him an enemy. His party accepted the choice without doubt or hesitation.

Internal harmony having been thus honorably secured, the great army of loyal citizens who have ever been true to the Union and its highest interests have ample reason to look forward to assured victory.

The citizen who has filled with honor every position to which the favor of his political associates has called him, will, if elected, discharge with fidelity the high duties of presiding officer of the noblest legislative chamber in the world.

His private felicity is at all events secured and he has been one of the many Americans of fair prosperity who have kept the household altar-fire of philanthropy ever fed by new gifts.

EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

OUR FORMER PRESIDENTS

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE NATION'S HISTORY

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

FIRST President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 22d of February, 1732. He was the son of Augustine Washington, a wealthy planter, and his second wife, Mary Ball. John Washington, the great-grandfather of the illustrious subject of this sketch, emigrated from England and settled in Virginia about 1657. George Washington's father died when he was in his eleventh year, leaving him in the care of his mother, a woman of marked strength of character. She was worthy of her trust. From her he acquired that self-restraint, love of order, and strict regard for justice and fair dealing, which, with his inherent probity and truthfulness, formed the basis of a character rarely equaled for its simple, yet commanding nobleness.

Apart from his mother's training, the youthful Washington received only the ordinary country-

school education of the time, never having attended college, or taken instruction in the ancient languages. He had no inclination for any but the most practical studies, but in these he was remarkably precocious. When barely sixteen Lord Fairfax, who had become greatly interested in the promising lad, engaged him to survey his vast estates lying in the wilderness west of the Blue Ridge. So satisfactory was his performance of this perilous and difficult task, that, on its completion, he was appointed Public Surveyor. This office he held for three years, acquiring considerable pecuniary benefits, as well as a knowledge of the country, which was of value to him in his subsequent military career.

When only nineteen, Washington was appointed Military Inspector of one of the districts into which Virginia was then divided. In November, 1753, he was sent by Governor Dinwiddie on a mission to the French posts, near the Ohio River, to ascertain the designs of France in that quarter. It was a mission of hardship and peril, performed with rare prudence, sagacity, and resolution. Its brilliant success laid the foundation of his fortunes. "From that time," says Irving, "Washington was the rising hope of Virginia."

Of Washington's services in the resulting war, we cannot speak in detail. An unfortunate military expedition to the frontier was followed by a campaign under Braddock, whom he accompanied

as aid-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, in his march against Fort Duquesne. That imprudent General, scorning the advice of his youthful aid, met disastrous defeat and death. In the battle, Washington's coat was pierced by four bullets. His bravery and presence of mind alone saved the army from total destruction.

Washington, on his return, was appointed commander-in-chief of all the troops of the colony, then numbering about two thousand men. This was in 1755, when he was but little more than twenty-three years of age. Having led the Virginia troops in Forbes' expedition in 1758, by which Fort Duquesne was captured, he resigned his commission, and, in January, 1759, married Mrs. Martha Custis (*nee* Dandridge), and settled down at Mount Vernon, on the Potomac, which estate he had inherited from his elder brother Lawrence, and to which he added until it reached some eight thousand acres.

The fifteen years following his marriage were, to Washington, years of such happiness as is rarely accorded to mortals. It was the halcyon period of his life. His home was the centre of a generous hospitality, where the duties of a busy planter and of a Judge of the County Court were varied by rural enjoyments and social intercourse. He managed his estates with prudence and economy. He slurred over nothing, and exhibited, even then, that rigid adherence to system and

accuracy of detail which subsequently marked his performance of his public duties.

In the difficulties which presently arose between Great Britain and her American Colonies, Washington sympathized deeply with the latter, and took an earnest, though not specially prominent part in those movements which finally led to the War of Independence. In the first general Congress of the Colonies, which met in Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, we find the name of Washington among the Virginia Delegates. As to the part he took in that Congress, we can only judge from a remark made by Patrick Henry, also a Delegate: "Colonel Washington," said the great orator, "was undoubtedly the greatest man on that floor, if you speak of solid information and sound judgment."

In the councils of his native province, we also get glimpses of his calm and dignified presence. And he is ever on the side of the Colonies—moderate, yet resolute, hopeful of an amicable adjustment of difficulties, yet advocating measures looking to a final appeal to arms.

At length the storm broke. The Battle of Lexington called the whole country to arms. While in the East the rude militia of New England beleaguered Boston with undisciplined but stern determination, Congress, in May, 1775, met a second time in Philadelphia. A Federal Union was formed and an army called for. As chair-

man of the various Committees on Military Affairs, Washington drew up most of the rules and regulations of the army, and devised measures for defense. The question now arose—By whom was the army to be led? Hancock, of Massachusetts, was ambitious of the place. Sectional jealousies showed themselves. Happily, however, Johnson, of Maryland, rising in his seat, nominated Washington. The election was by ballot, and unanimous. Modestly expressing sincere doubts as to his capability, Washington accepted the position with thanks, but refused to receive any salary. "I will keep an exact account of my expenses," he said. "These I doubt not Congress will discharge. That is all I desire."

On the 15th of June he received his commission. Writing a tender letter to his wife, he rapidly prepared to start on the following day to the army before Boston. He was now in the full vigor of manhood, forty-three years of age, tall, stately, of powerful frame and commanding presence. "As he sat his horse with manly grace," says Irving, "his military bearing delighted every eye, and wherever he went the air rung with acclamations."

On his way to the army, Washington met the tidings of the Battle of Bunker Hill. When told how bravely the militia had acted, a load seemed lifted from his heart. "The liberties of the country are safe!" he exclaimed. On the 2d of July

he took command of the troops, at Cambridge, Mass., the entire force then numbering about 15,000 men. It was not until March, 1776, that the siege of Boston ended in the withdrawal of the British forces. Washington's admirable conduct of this siege drew forth the enthusiastic applause of the nation. Congress had a gold medal struck, bearing the effigy of Washington as the Deliverer of Boston.

Hastening to defend New York from threatened attack, Washington there received, on the 9th of July, 1776, a copy of the "Declaration of Independence," adopted by Congress five days previously. On the 27th of the following month occurred the disastrous battle of Long Island, the misfortunes of which were retrieved, however, by Washington's admirable retreat, one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. Again defeated at White Plains, he was compelled to retire across New Jersey. On the 7th of December he passed to the west side of the Delaware, at the head of a dispirited army of less than four thousand effective men, many of them without shoes, and leaving tracks of blood in the snow. This was the darkest period of the war. But suddenly, as if inspired, Washington, in the midst of a driving storm, on Christmas night recrossing the Delaware, now filled with floating ice, gained in rapid succession the brilliant victories of Trenton and Princeton, thus changing

the entire aspect of affairs. Never were victories better timed. The waning hopes of the people in their cause and their commander were at once restored as if by magic.

It is not possible, in this necessarily brief sketch, to give the details of the agonizing struggle in which Washington and his little army were now involved. Superior numbers and equipments often inflicted upon him disasters which would have crushed a less resolute spirit. Cheered, however, by occasional glimpses of victory, and wisely taking advantage of what his troops learned in hardship and defeat, he was at length enabled, by one sagacious and deeply planned movement, to bring the war virtually to a close in the capture of the British army of 7,000 men, under Cornwallis, at Yorktown, on the 19th of October, 1781.

The tidings of the surrender of Cornwallis filled the country with joy. The lull in the activity of both Congress and the people was not viewed with favor by Washington. It was a period of peril. Idleness in the army fostered discontents there, which at one time threatened the gravest mischief. It was only by the utmost exertion that Washington induced the malcontents to turn a deaf ear to those who were attempting, as he alleged, "to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire with blood."

On September 3d, 1783, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, by which the complete independence of the United States was secured. On the 23d of December following, Washington formally resigned his command. The very next morning he hastened to his beloved Mount Vernon, arriving there that evening, in time to enjoy the festivities which there greeted him.

Washington was not long permitted to enjoy his retirement. Indeed, his solicitude for the perpetuity of the political fabric he had helped to raise he could not have shaken off if he would. Unconsciously, it might have been, by his letters to his old friends still in public life, he continued to exercise a powerful influence on national affairs. He was one of the first to propose a remodeling of the Articles of Confederation, which were now acknowledged to be insufficient for their purpose. At length, a convention of delegates from the several States, to form a new Constitution, met at Philadelphia, in May, 1787. Washington presided over its session, which was long and stormy. After four months of deliberation was formed that Constitution under which, with some subsequent amendments, we now live.

When the new Constitution was finally ratified, Washington was called to the Presidency by the unanimous voice of the people. In April, 1789, he set out from Mount Vernon for New York, then the seat of Government, to be inaugurated.

"His progress," says Irving, "was a continuous ovation. The ringing of bells and the roaring of cannon proclaimed his course. Old and young, women and children, thronged the highways to bless and welcome him." His inauguration took place April 30th, 1789, before an immense multitude.

The eight years of Washington's Administration were years of trouble and difficulty. The two parties which had sprung up—the Federalist and the Republican—were greatly embittered against each other, each charging the other with the most unpatriotic designs. No other man than Washington could have carried the country safely through so perilous a period. His prudent, firm, yet conciliatory spirit, aided by the love and veneration with which the people regarded him, kept down insurrection and silenced discontent.

That he passed through this trying period safely cannot but be a matter of astonishment. The angry partisan contests, to which we have referred, were of themselves sufficient to dishearten any common man. Even Washington was distrustful of the event, so fiercely were the partisans of both parties enlisted—the Federalists clamoring for a stronger government, the Republicans for additional checks on the power already intrusted to the Executive. Besides, the Revolution then raging in France became a source of contention. The Federalists sided with England.

who was bent on crushing that Revolution; the Republicans, on the other hand, sympathized deeply with the French people: so that between them both, it was with extreme difficulty that the President could prevent our young Republic, burdened with debt, her people groaning under taxes necessarily heavy, and with finances, commerce, and the industrial arts in a condition of chaos, from being dragged into a fresh war with either France or England.

But, before retiring from the Presidency, Washington had the happiness of seeing many of the difficulties from which he had apprehended so much, placed in a fair way of final adjustment. A financial system was developed which lightened the burden of public debt and revived the drooping energies of the people. The country progressed rapidly. Immigrants flocked to our shores, and the regions west of the Alleghanies began to fill up. New States claimed admission and were received into the Union—Vermont, in 1791; Kentucky, in 1792; and Tennessee, in 1796; so that, before the close of Washington's second term, the original thirteen States had increased to sixteen.

Having served two Presidential terms, Washington, declining another election, returned once more to Mount Vernon, "that haven of repose to which he had so often turned a wistful eye," bearing with him the love and gratitude of his countrymen, to whom, in his memorable "Farewell Ad-

dress," he bequeathed a legacy of practical political wisdom which it will be well for them to remember and profit by. In this immortal document he insisted that the union of the States was "a main pillar" in the real independence of the people. He also entreated them to "steer clear of any permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

At Mount Vernon Washington found constant occupation in the supervision of his various estates. It was while taking his usual round on horseback to look after his farms, that, on the 12th of December, 1799, he encountered a cold, winter storm. He reached home chill and damp. The next day he had a sore throat, with some hoarseness. By the morning of the 14th he could scarcely swallow. "I find I am going," said he to a friend. "I believed from the first that the attack would be fatal." That night, between ten and eleven, he expired, without a struggle or a sigh, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, his disease being acute laryngitis. Three days afterward his remains were deposited in the family tombs at Mount Vernon, where they still repose.

Washington left a reputation on which there is no stain. "His character," says Irving, "possessed fewer inequalities, and a rarer union of virtues than perhaps ever fell to the lot of one man. * * * It seems as if Providence had endowed him in a pre-eminent degree with the qualities

requisite to fit him for the high destiny he was called upon to fulfill."

In stature Washington was six feet two inches in height, well proportioned, and firmly built. His hair was brown, his eyes blue and set far apart. From boyhood he was famous for great strength and agility. Jefferson pronounced him "the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback." He was scrupulously neat, gentlemanly, and punctual, and always dignified and reserved.

In the resolution passed upon learning of his death, the National House of Representatives described him for the first time in that well-known phrase, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,"—a tribute which succeding generations have continued to bestow upon Washington without question or doubt. By common consent to him is accorded as pre-eminently appropriate the title, "Pater Patriæ,"—the "Father of his Country."

Of Washington, Lord Brougham says: "It will be the duty of the historian and the sage, in all ages, to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."

JOHN ADAMS,

SECOND President of the United States, was born at Braintree, now Quincy, Mass., October 19th, 1735. He was the eldest son of John Adams, a farmer, and Susanna Boylston. Graduating from Harvard in 1755, he studied law, defraying his expenses by teaching. In 1764, having meanwhile been admitted to the bar, he married Miss Abigail Smith, a lady whose energy of character contributed largely to his subsequent advancement.

As early as 1761, we find young Adams looking forward, with prophetic vision, to American Independence. When the memorable Stamp Act was passed in 1765, he joined heart and soul in opposition to it. A series of resolutions which he drew up against it and presented to the citizens of Braintree was adopted also by more than forty other towns in the Province. He took the advanced grounds that it was absolutely void—Parliament having no right to tax the Colonies.

In 1768 he removed to Boston. The rise of the young lawyer was now rapid, and he was the leading man in many prominent cases. When, in September, 1774, the first Colonial Congress met, at Philadelphia, Adams was one of the five Delegates from Massachusetts. In that Congress he took a prominent part. He it was who, on the 6th of

May, 1776, boldly advanced upon the path of Independence, by moving "the adoption of such measures as would best conduce to the happiness and safety of the American people." It was Adams, who, a month later, seconded the resolution of Lee, of Virginia, "that these United States are, and of right ought to be, independent." It was he who uttered the famous words, "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, with my country is my unalterable determination." He, too, it was, who, with Jefferson, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, drew up that famous "Declaration of Independence," which, adopted by Congress on the 4th of July, 1776, decided a question, "greater, perhaps, than ever was or will be decided anywhere." During all these years of engrossing public duty he produced many able essays on the rights of the Colonies. These appeared in the leading journals of the day and exerted wide influence. The motion to prepare a Declaration of Independence was opposed by a strong party, to the champion of which Adams made reply and Jefferson said, "John Adams was the ablest advocate and champion of independence on the floor of the House."

Writing to his wife on July 3d, 1776, and referring to the Declaration of Independence, that day adopted, he forecast the manner of that day's celebration by bonfires, fireworks, etc., as "the great anniversary festival." During all the years

of the war he was a most zealous worker and valued counselor. After its years of gloom and trial, on the 21st of January, 1783, he assisted in the conclusion of a treaty of peace, by which Great Britain acknowledged the complete independence of the United States. On the previous October, he had achieved what he ever regarded as the greatest success of his life—the formation of a treaty of peace and alliance with Holland, which had a most important bearing on the negotiations leading to the final adjustment with England.

He was United States Minister to England from 1785 to 1788, and Vice-President during both the terms of Washington. During these years, as presiding officer of the Senate, he gave no less than twenty casting votes, all of them on questions of great importance, and all supporting the policy of the President. Mr. Adams was himself inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1797, having been elected over Jefferson by a small majority. Thomas Pinckney was nominated for the Vice-Presidency with him, they representing the Federal party, but in the Electoral College Thomas Jefferson received the choice and became Vice-President. He retained as his Cabinet the officers previously chosen by Washington.

He came into office at a critical period. The conduct of the French Directory, in refusing to receive our ambassadors, and in trying to injure

our commerce by unjust decrees, excited intense ill-feeling, and finally led to what is known as "the Quasi War" with France. Congress now passed the so-called "Alien and Sedition Laws," by which extraordinary and, it is alleged, unconstitutional powers were conferred upon the President. Though the apprehended war was averted, the odium of these laws effectually destroyed the popularity of Adams, who, on running for a second term, was defeated by Mr. Jefferson, representing the Republicans, who were the Democratic party of that day. On the 4th of March, 1801, he retired to private life on his farm near Quincy. His course as President had brought upon him the reproaches of both parties, and his days were ended in comparative obscurity and neglect. He lived to see his son, John Quincy Adams, in the Presidential chair.

By a singular coincidence, the death of Mr. Adams and that of his old political rival, Jefferson, took place on the same day, and almost at the same hour. Stranger still, it was on July the 4th, 1826, whilst bells were ringing and cannon roaring to celebrate the fiftieth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, their own immortal production, that these two men passed away. Mr. Adams was asked if he knew what day it was. "Oh! yes!" he exclaimed, "It is the Fourth of July. God bless it! God bless you all! It is a great and glorious day!" and soon after quietly expired, in the ninety-first year of his age.

Mr. Adams possessed a vigorous and polished intellect, and was one of the most upright of men. His character was one to command respect, rather than to win affection. There was a certain lack of warmth in his stately courtesy which seemed to forbid approach. Yet nobody, we are told, could know him intimately without admiring the simplicity and truth which shone in all his actions.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, who succeeded Adams as President, was born at Shadwell, Albermarle County, Va., April 2d, 1743. Peter Jefferson, his father, was a man of great force of character and of remarkably powerful physique. His mother, Jane Randolph, was from a most respectable English family. He was the eldest of eight children. He became a classical student when a mere boy, and entered college in an advanced class when but seventeen years of age. Having passed through college, he studied law under Judge Wythe, and in 1767 commenced practice. In 1769, he was elected to the Virginia Legislature. Three years later, he married Mrs. Martha Skelton, a rich, handsome, and accomplished young widow, with whom he went to reside in his new mansion at Monticello, near to the spot where he was born. His practice at the bar grew

rapidly and became very lucrative, and he early engaged in the political affairs of his own State.

For years the breach between England and her Colonies had been rapidly widening. Jefferson earnestly advocated the right of the latter to local self-government, and wrote a pamphlet on the subject which attracted much attention on both sides of the Atlantic. By the spring of 1775 the Colonies were in revolt. We now find Jefferson in the Continental Congress—the youngest member save one. His arrival had been anxiously awaited. He had the reputation "of a matchless pen." Though silent on the floor, in committee "he was prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive." Early in June, 1776, a committee, with Jefferson as chairman, was appointed to draw up a "Declaration of Independence." Unanimously urged by his associates to write it, he did so, Franklin and Adams, only, making a few verbal alterations. Jefferson has been charged with plagiarism in the composition of this ever-memorable paper. Volumes have been written on the subject; but those who have investigated the closest, declare that the Mecklenburg Declaration, from which he was charged with plagiarism, was not then in existence. Jefferson distinctly denies having seen it. Probably, in preparing it, he used many of the popular phrases of the time; and hence it was that it seized so quickly and so irresistibly upon the public heart. It was the crystallized expression

MONTICELLO—THE HOME OF JEFFERSON.

of the spirit of the age. Edward Everett pronounced this Declaration "equal to anything ever born on parchment or expressed in the visible signs of thought." Bancroft declares, "The heart of Jefferson in writing it, and of Congress in adopting it, beat for all humanity."

Chosen a second time to Congress, Jefferson declined the appointment, in order that he might labor in re-organizing Virginia. He therefore accepted a seat in the Legislature, where he zealously applied himself to revising the fundamental laws of the State. The abolition of primogeniture and the Church establishment was the result of his labors, and he was justly proud of it. No more important advance could have been made. It was a step from middle-age darkness into the broad light of modern civilization.

In 1778, Jefferson procured the passage of a law prohibiting the further importation of slaves. The following year he was elected Governor, succeeding Patrick Henry in this honorable position, and at the close of his official term he again sought the retirement of Monticello. In 1782, shortly after the death of his beloved wife, he was summoned to act as one of the Commissioners to negotiate peace with England. He was not required to sail, however; but, taking a seat in Congress, during the winter of 1783, he, who had drawn up the Declaration of Independence, was the first to officially announce its final triumph.

At the next session of Congress, he secured the adoption of our present admirable system of coinage. As chairman of a committee to draft rules for the government of our Northwest Territory he endeavored, but without success, to secure the prohibition of slavery therefrom forever. In May, 1784, he was sent to Europe, to assist Adams and Franklin in negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. Returning home in 1789, he received from Washington the appointment of Secretary of State, which office he resigned in 1793. He withdrew, says Marshall, "at a time when he stood particularly high in the esteem of his countrymen." His friendship for France, and his dislike of England; his warm opposition to the aggrandizement of the central power of the Government, and his earnest advocacy of every measure tending to enlarge popular freedom, had won for him a large following, and he now stood the acknowledged leader of the great and growing Anti-federal party.

Washington declining a third term, Adams, as we have already seen, succeeded him, Jefferson becoming Vice-President. At the next election, Jefferson and Burr, the Republican candidates, stood highest on the list. By the election law of that period, he who had the greatest number of votes was to be President, while the Vice-Presidency fell to the next highest candidate. Jefferson and Burr having an equal number of votes,

it remained for the House of Representatives to decide which should be President. After a long and heated canvass, Jefferson was chosen on the thirty-sixth ballot. He was inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1801, at Washington, whither the Capitol had been removed a few months previously. In 1804, he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. At the close of his second term, he retired once more to the quiet of Monticello.

The most important public measure of Jefferson's Administration, to the success of which he directed his strongest endeavors, was the purchase from France, for the insignificant sum of $15,000,000, of the immense Territory of Louisiana. It was during his Administration, too, that the conspiracy of Burr was discovered, and thwarted by the prompt and decisive action of the President. Burr's scheme was a mad one—to break up the Union, and erect a new empire, with Mexico as its seat. Jefferson is regarded as having initiated the custom of removing incumbents from office on political grounds alone.

From the retirement into which he withdrew at the end of his second term, Jefferson never emerged. His time was actively employed in the management of his property and in his extensive correspondence. In establishing a University at Charlottesville, Jefferson took a deep interest, devoting to it much of his time and means.

He was proud of his work, and directed that the words "Father of the University of Virginia" should be inscribed upon his tomb. He died, shortly after mid-day, on the Fourth of July, 1826, a few hours before his venerable friend and compatriot, Adams.

Jefferson was the very embodiment of the democracy he sought to make the distinctive feature of his party. All titles were distasteful to him, even the prefix Mr. His garb and manners were such that the humblest farmer was at home in his society. He declared that in view of the existence of slavery he "trembled for his country when he remembered that God is just." He was of splendid physique, being six feet two and a half inches in height, but well built and sinewy. His hair was of a reddish brown, his countenance ruddy, his eyes light hazel. Both he and his wife were wealthy, but they spent freely and died insolvent, leaving but one daughter.

His moral character was of the highest order. Profanity he could not endure, either in himself or others. He never touched cards, or strong drink in any form. He was one of the most generous of men, lavishly hospitable, and in everything a thorough gentleman. Gifted with an intellect far above the average, he had added to it a surprising culture, which ranked him among our most accomplished scholars. To his extended learning, to his ardent love of lib-

erty, and to his broad and tolerant views, is due much, very much, of whatever is admirable in our institutions. In them we discern everywhere traces of his master spirit.

JAMES MADISON.

WHEN Mr. Jefferson retired from the Presidency, the country was almost on the verge of war with Great Britain. Disputes had arisen in regard to certain restrictions laid by England upon our commerce. A hot discussion also came up about the right claimed and exercised by the commanders of English war-vessels, of searching American ships and of taking from them such seamen as they might choose to consider natives of Great Britain. Many and terrible wrongs had been perpetrated in the exercise of this alleged right. Hundreds of American citizens had been ruthlessly forced into the British service.

It was when the public mind was agitated by such outrages, that James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, was inaugurated. When he took his seat, on the 4th of March, 1809, he lacked but a few days of being fifty-eight years of age, having been born on the 15th of March, 1751. His father was Colonel James Madison, his mother Nellie Conway. He gradu-

ated at Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1771, after which he studied law.

In his twenty-sixth year he had been a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Virginia; in 1780 had been elected to the Continental Congress, in which he at once took a commanding position; had subsequently entered the Virginia Legislature, where he co-operated with his friend and neighbor, Jefferson, in the abrogation of entail and primogeniture, and in the establishment of religious freedom; had drawn up the call in answer to which the Convention to Draught a Constitution for the United States met at Philadelphia in 1787, and had been one of the most active members of that memorable assemblage in reconciling the discordant elements of which it was composed. He had also labored earnestly to secure the adoption of the new Constitution by his native State; had afterward entered Congress; and when Jefferson became President, in March, 1801, had been by him appointed Secretary of State, a post he had declined when it was vacated by Jefferson in December, 1793. In this important post for eight years, he won the highest esteem and confidence of the nation. Having been nominated by the Republicans, he was in 1808 elected to the Presidency, receiving one hundred and twenty-two electoral votes, while Charles C. Pinckney, the Federal candidate, received but forty-seven.

In 1794, he married Mrs. Dorothy Todd, a young widow lady, whose bright intelligence and fascinating manners were to gain her celebrity as one of the most remarkable women who ever presided over the domestic arrangements of the Presidential Mansion.

Of a weak and delicate constitution, and with the habits of a student, Mr. Madison would have preferred peace to war. But even he lost patience at the insults heaped upon the young Republic by it ancient mother; and when, at length, on the 18th of June, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain, he gave the declaration his official sanction, and took active steps to enforce it. Though disasters in the early part of the war greatly strengthened the Federal party, who were bitterly opposed to hostilities, the ensuing Presidential canvass resulted in the re-election of Mr. Madison by a large majority, his competitor, De Witt Clinton, receiving eighty-nine electoral votes to one hundred and twenty-eight for Madison. On the 12th of August, 1814, a British army took Washington, the President himself narrowly escaping capture. The Presidential Mansion, the Capitol, and all the public buildings were wantonly burned. The 14th of December following, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, in which, however, England did not relinquish her claim to the right of search. But as she has not since attempted to exercise it, the question may be regarded as having been finally settled by the contest.

On the 4th of March, 1817, Madison's second term having expired, he withdrew to private life at his paternal home of Montpelier, Orange County, Va. During his administration, two new States had been added to the Union, making the total number at this period nineteen. The first to claim admittance was Louisiana, in 1812. It was formed out of the Southern portion of the vast Territory, purchased, during the Presidency of Jefferson, from France. Indiana—the second State—was admitted in 1816.

After his retirement from office, Mr. Madison passed nearly a score of quiet years at Montpelier. With Jefferson, who was a not very distant neighbor, he co-operated in placing the Charlottesville University upon a substantial foundation. In 1829, he left his privacy to take part in the Convention which met at Richmond to revise the Constitution of the State. His death took place on the 28th of June, 1836, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

JAMES MONROE.

MADISON'S successor in the Presidential chair was James Monroe, whose Administration has been called "the Era of Good Feeling," from the temporary subsidence at that time of party strife. He was a son of Spence Monroe, a planter. He was born on his father's

plantation in Westmoreland County, Va., on the 28th of April, 1758. At the age of sixteen he entered William and Mary College; but when, two years later, the Declaration of Independence called the Colonies to arms, the young collegian, dropping his books, girded on his sword, and entered the service of his country. Commissioned a lieutenant, he took part in the battles of Harlem Heights and White Plains. In the attack on Trenton he was wounded in the shoulder, and for his bravery promoted to a captaincy. Subsequently he was attached to the staff of Lord Sterling with the rank of major, and fought by the side of Lafayette, when that officer was wounded at the battle of Brandywine, and also participated in the battles of Germantown and Monmouth. He was afterward given a colonel's commission, but, being unable to recruit a regiment, began the study of law in the office of Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia.

When only about twenty-three years old, he was elected to the Virginia Legislature. The next year he was sent to Congress. On the expiration of his term, having meanwhile married, in New York, Miss Kortright, a young lady of great intelligence and rare personal attractions, he returned to Fredericksburg, and commenced practice as a lawyer. He espoused the cause of the Anti-Federal or Republican party, being thoroughly democratic in his ideas, as was his eminent

preceptor, Jefferson. In 1789, he was elected to the United States Senate. In 1794, he was appointed minister-plenipotentiary to France, but recalled from his mission two years later because of his outspoken sympathies with the republicans of that country.

Shortly after his return, Monroe was elected Governor of Virginia, which post he held for three years (1799–1802). On the expiration of his official term, he was sent to co-operate with Edward Livingston, then resident Minister at Paris, in negotiating the treaty by which the Territory of Louisiana was secured to the United States. In 1811, he was again elected Governor of Virginia, but presently resigned to become Madison's Secretary of State.

During the period following the capture of Washington, September, 1814–March, 1815, he acted as Secretary of War, and did much to restore the nation's power and credit. He continued Secretary of State until March, 1817, when he became President. He was chosen by the Democratic party, till then known as the Republican. He received one hundred and eighty-three electoral votes, his opponent, Rufus King, receiving but thirty-four votes. The violence of party spirit greatly abated during his first term, and he was re-elected in 1821, with but one dissenting vote out of the two hundred and thirty-two cast by the electoral college. On the 4th of March, 1825, he

retired to the quiet and seclusion of his estate at Oak Hill, in Loudon County, Virginia.

During Monroe's Administration, the boundaries of the United States were considerably enlarged by the purchase of Florida from Spain. Five new States were also admitted into the Union: Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, in 1818; Alabama, in 1819; Maine, in 1820; and Missouri, in 1821.

The discussion in Congress over the admission of Missouri showed the existence of a new disturbing element in our national politics. It was the question of the further extension of slavery; not so much in regard to its moral aspects as to its bearing on the question of the balance of political power. For a brief period two parties, one in favor of and the other against admitting any more Slave States, filled Congress and the country with angry discussion. This was quieted for the time by what is known as "the Missouri Compromise," which restricted slavery to the territory lying south of the southern boundary of Missouri.

The somewhat celebrated "Monroe Doctrine" is regarded as one of the most important results of Monroe's Administration. It was enunciated in his message to Congress on the 2d of December, 1823, and arose out of his sympathy for the new Republics then recently set up in South America. In substance it was, that the United States would never entangle themselves with the

quarrels of Europe, nor allow Europe to interfere with the affairs of this continent.

In 1830, the venerable ex-President went to reside with his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, in New York, where he died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, on the 4th of July, 1831, being the third of our five Revolutionary Presidents to pass from earth on the anniversary of that memorable day, which had contributed so largely to the shaping of their destinies.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

THE son of John Adams, our second President, and himself the sixth chief executive of the Union, was born at Quincy, Mass., on the 11th of July, 1767. He enjoyed rare opportunities for culture from his mother, who was a lady of very superior talents. While yet a mere boy, he twice accompanied his father to Europe, and at the age of fourteen was appointed private secretary to Francis Dana, then Minister to Russia. Graduating from Harvard in 1788, he studied law under Theophilus Parsons, and commenced practice in Boston in 1791. In 1794, he was appointed by Washington Minister to Holland. In July, 1797, he married Louisa, daughter of Joshua Johnson, then American Consul at London. In 1797, his father, who was then President, gave him the mission to Berlin, being urged to this

recognition of his own son by Washington, who pronounced the younger Adams "the most valuable public character we have abroad."

On the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency, Mr. Adams was recalled from Berlin. Soon after his return, however, he was elected to the United States Senate, where he speedily won a commanding position, ardently supporting Jefferson's measures of resistance against the arrogance and insolence of England in her encroachments upon our commerce and in her impressment of our seamen. The Legislature of Massachusetts having censured him for his course, Adams resigned his seat; but, in 1809, was selected by Madison to represent the United States at St. Petersburg. On the 24th of December, 1814, he, in conjunction with Clay and Gallatin, concluded the Treaty of Ghent, which closed "the Second War of Independence." In 1817, he was recalled to act as Secretary of State for President Monroe.

At the election for Monroe's successor, in 1824, party spirit ran high. The contest was an exciting one. Of the two hundred and sixty electoral votes, Andrew Jackson received 99, John Quincy Adams 84, Wm. H. Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. As there was no choice by the people, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives. Here Mr. Clay gave the vote of Kentucky to Adams, and otherwise promoted his cause, so that he received the votes of thirteen States, and was elected.

The Administration of the younger Adams has been characterized as the purest and most economical on record. Yet, during his entire term, he was the object of the most rancorous partisan assaults. He had appointed Clay as his Secretary of State, whereat the Jackson men accused them both of "bargaining and corruption," and in all ways disparaged and condemned their work. In his official intercourse, it was said Adams often displayed "a formal coldness which froze like an iceberg." This coldness of manner, along with his advocacy of a high protective tariff and the policy of internal improvements, and his known hostility to slavery, made him many bitter enemies, especially in the South, and at the close of his first term he was probably the most unpopular man who could have aspired to the Presidency; and yet, in his contest with Jackson at that time, Adams received eighty-three electoral votes, Jackson being chosen by one hundred and seventy-eight.

On the 4th of March, 1829, General Jackson having been elected President, Mr. Adams retired to private life; but, in 1831, was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States, where he took his seat, pledged, as he said, to no party. He at once became the leader of that little band, so insignificant in numbers, but powerful in determination and courage, who, regarding slavery as both a moral and a political

evil, began, in Congress, to advocate its abolition. By his continual presentation of petitions against slavery, he gradually yet irresistibly led the public mind to familiarize itself with the idea of its final extinction. To the fiery onslaughts of the Southern members he opposed a cold and unimpassioned front.

In 1842, to show his consistency in upholding the right of petition, he presented to Congress the petition of some thirty or forty over-zealous anti-slavery persons for the dissolution of the Union. This brought upon the venerable ex-President a perfect tempest of indignation. Resolutions to expel him were introduced; but, after eleven days of stormy discussion, they were laid on the table. The intrepidity displayed by "the old man eloquent" was beginning to tell. Even those who most bitterly opposed his doctrines were learning to respect him. When, after a season of illness, he re-appeared in Congress, in February, 1847, every member instinctively rose in his seat to do the old man honor. On the 21st of February, 1848, Mr. Adams was struck down by paralysis on the floor of the House of Representatives. He was taken, senseless, into an ante-room. Recovering his consciousness, he looked calmly around, and said: "This is the last of earth: I am content." These were his last words. In an apartment beneath the dome of the Capitol he expired, on February 23d, in the eighty-first year of his age.

ANDREW JACKSON,

SEVENTH President of the United States, was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on the 15th of March, 1767. His father, who was a poor Irishman, dying a few days before Andrew's birth, he and his two older brothers were left to the care of his mother. The boys had little schooling. Andrew was a rude, turbulent lad, at once vindictive and generous, full of mischief, but resolute, of indomitable courage, and wonderfully self-reliant. When but thirteen, fired by the death of his oldest brother, who had perished from heat and exhaustion at the Battle of Stono, he shouldered a musket and took part in the War of Independence. He and his remaining brother were made prisoners by the British, but were soon released through the exertions of their mother. It was during this captivity that Andrew received a wound from a British officer for refusing to black the boots of that dignitary. Both the released boys were soon sent home with the small-pox, of which the elder died, and Andrew barely escaped death. The mother went next, dying of ship fever, contracted while attending upon the patriot prisoners at Charleston. Thus left an orphan, Andrew worked a short time in a saddler's shop. He then tried school-teaching, and finally studied law, being

admitted to practice when but twenty years old. At that time he was very commanding in appearance, being six feet one inch in height, and distinguished for courage and activity.

In 1791, Jackson married, at Nashville, where he had built up a lucrative practice, Mrs. Rachel Robards, the divorced wife, as both he and the lady herself supposed, of Mr. Lewis Robards. They had lived together two years, when it was discovered that Mrs. Robards was not fully divorced at the time of her second marriage. As, however, the divorce had subsequently been perfected, the marriage ceremony was performed anew, in 1794. In after years, this unfortunate mistake was made the basis of many calumnious charges against Jackson by his partisan enemies.

Tennessee having been made a State in 1796, Jackson was successively its Representative and Senator in Congress, and a Judge of its Supreme Court. Resigning his judgeship in 1804, he entered into and carried on for a number of years an extensive trading business. He was also elected at this period major-general in the militia. In 1806 he was severely wounded in a duel with Charles Dickenson, who had been making disparaging remarks against his wife, something which Jackson could neither forget nor forgive. Dickenson fell mortally wounded, and, after suffering intense agony for a short time, died. This

sad affair, in which Jackson displayed much vindictiveness, made him for awhile very unpopular.

When, in 1812, war was declared against England, Jackson promptly offered his services to the General Government. During the summer of 1813 he had another of those personal rencontres into which his fiery temper was continually leading him. In an affray with Thomas H. Benton, he received a pistol-shot in the shoulder at the hands of Benton's brother, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He was still suffering from the immediate consequences of this wound, when tidings were received at Nashville of the massacre at Fort Mimms by Creek Indians. Jackson, regardless of his wounds, at once took the field. An energetic campaign, in which, winning victory after victory, he established his reputation as one of our best military chieftains, ended the Creek War, and broke forever the power of the Indian races in North America.

In May, 1814, Jackson was made a major-general in the regular army and became the acknowledged military leader in the Southwest. New Orleans being threatened by the British, he hastened to defend it. There, on the 8th of January, 1815, with less than five thousand men, mostly untrained militia, he repulsed the attack of a well-appointed army of nearly fourteen thousand veteran troops, under some of the most distinguished officers in the English service. Generals Paken-

ham and Gibbs, of the British forces, were killed, together with seven hundred of their men, fourteen hundred more being wounded and five hundred taken prisoners. Jackson lost but eight killed and fourteen wounded. Ten days later the enemy withdrew, leaving many of their guns behind them. The full glory of Jackson's triumph at New Orleans partisan rancor subsequently sought to dim. But high military authorities, even in England, have sustained the popular judgment that it was a brilliant victory, achieved by rare foresight, wise conduct, and undoubted warlike genius.

Jackson's success at New Orleans gave him immense popularity. He received a vote of thanks from Congress, was made Commander-in-chief of the southern division of the army, and even began to be talked of as a candidate for the Presidency. President Monroe offered him the post of Secretary of War. In the Seminole War, which commenced about the close of 1817, he took the field in person. He was successful, with but little fighting. His execution of Arbuthnot and Armbruster, two British subjects, found guilty by a military court of inciting the Indians to hostilities, caused an angry discussion between England and the United States which at one time threatened to end in open rupture. In Congress, also, it excited a warm debate; but resolutions censuring the General were rejected by the

House, and came to no conclusion in the Senate.

When Spain ceded Florida to the Union, Jackson was appointed Governor of the Territory. In 1823 he was elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Tennessee, which, at the same time, nominated him for the Presidency. This nomination, though ridiculed on account of Jackson's alleged unfitness for the office, nevertheless resulted, at the ensuing election, in his receiving more votes than any other single candidate; but the choice devolving on the House of Representatives, Adams, as we have seen, was elected. For Henry Clay's part in this success of Adams, Jackson became his bitter enemy, stigmatizing him as the "Judas of the West." In the next campaign, however, Jackson achieved a decided triumph, having a majority of eighty-three out of two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes.

In retaliation for the bitter personal attacks he had received during the campaign, Jackson commenced a wholesale political proscription of his partisan opponents. Adopting the war-cry of his Secretary of State, Marcy, of New York, that "to the victors belong the spoils," he initiated that system, ever since so prevalent, of turning out of office every man not on the side of the winning party. His veto of the bill re-chartering the United States Bank, which for a time caused quite a panic in commercial circles, and his determined

stand against the "nullifiers," under the lead of Calhoun, who, with threats of armed resistance, demanded a reduction of the tariff, excited a warm opposition to the President. But, in spite of every effort, the election of 1828 brought him again into the Presidential chair with an overwhelming majority, he receiving two hundred and nineteen electoral votes out of two hundred and eighty-eight, which was then the total number.

On the 10th of December, 1832, Jackson was compelled by the conduct of South Carolina to issue a proclamation threatening to use the army in case of resistance to the execution of the tariff laws; but, fortunately, Mr. Clay succeeded in bringing about a compromise, by which, the tariff being modified, the South Carolinians were enabled to recede from their position with becoming dignity.

Jackson's removal of the deposits, in 1833, caused an intense excitement throughout the country. In Congress, his course was censured by the Senate, but approved by the House. A panic existed for some time in business circles; but before the close of his second term the great mass of the people were content with the President's course.

Jackson's foreign diplomacy had been very successful. Useful commercial treaties were made with several countries and renewed with others. Indemnities for spoliations on American

commerce were obtained from various foreign countries. The national debt was extinguished, the Cherokees were removed from Georgia and the Creeks from Florida, while the original number of the States was doubled by the admission into the Union of Arkansas, in 1836, and of Michigan, in 1837. On the other hand, the slavery dispute was renewed with much bitterness, and the Seminole War re-commenced.

On the 4th of March, 1837, Jackson retired from public life. He returned to "the Hermitage," his country seat, where he remained until his death, on the 8th of June, 1845. The immediate cause of his death was dropsy; but through the greater part of his life he had been a sufferer from disease in one form or another.

General Jackson has been described as a man of unbounded hospitality. He loved fine horses and had a passion for racing them. "His temper," writes Colonel Benton, "was placable as well as irascible, and his reconciliations were cordial and sincere." He abhorred debt, public as well as private. His love of country was a master passion. "He was a thoroughly honest man, as straightforward in action as his thoughts were unsophisticated." Of book-knowledge he possessed little—scarcely anything; but his vigorous native intelligence and intuitive judgment carried him safely through where the most profound learning without them would have failed.

MARTIN VAN BUREN,

THE eighth chief executive of the Union, was the son of a thrifty farmer in the old town of Kinderhook, in Columbia County, New York, where he was born on the 5th of December, 1782. Early evidencing unusual mental vigor, a good academic education was given to him. Finishing this at the age of fourteen, he then began the study of the law. After seven years of study he was admitted to the bar, and commenced to practice in his native village. His growing reputation and practice warranting him in seeking a wider field, in 1809 he removed to Hudson. In 1812, he was elected to the Senate of New York; and, in 1815, having been appointed Attorney-General of the State, he removed to Albany. In 1821, he was elected to the United States Senate, and was also a member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of New York. He speedily rose to distinction in the National Senate, and, in 1827, was re-elected to that body, but the year following resigned his seat to take the position of Governor of New York.

In 1829, General Jackson, whose election to the Presidency was no doubt due in a great measure to the shrewd political management of Van Buren, offered him the post of Secretary of State.

In 1831, circumstances making it necessary for Jackson to re-organize his Cabinet, Van Buren resigned his Secretaryship, but was immediately named Minister to England. The Senate, however, greatly to the President's dissatisfaction, refused to confirm the nomination, though Van Buren had already reached London. This rejection of his friend aroused all of Jackson's determined spirit. He not only succeeded in placing Mr. Van Buren in the Vice-Presidency during his own second term, but he also began to work zealously to obtain Van Buren's nomination as his successor in the Presidency. He triumphed, and his friend received the Democratic nomination, and was elected by a handsome majority, taking his seat in the Presidential chair on the 4th of March, 1837.

Shortly after Van Buren's inauguration, a financial panic, ascribed to General Jackson's desire to make specie the currency of the country, and his consequent war upon the banks, brought the country to the very verge of ruin. Failures came fast and frequent, and all the great industries of the nation were paralyzed. At the same time, the war in Florida against the Seminoles lingered along, without the slightest apparent prospect of coming to an end, entailing enormous expenses on the Government; while the anti-slavery agitation, growing steadily stronger, excited mobs and violence, and threatened to shake

the Republic from its foundations. Rightly or wrongly, these troubles were attributed to President Van Buren and his party, as resulting from the policy they had pursued. His popularity waned rapidly, and at the Presidential election in 1840, in which he was a candidate for re-election, he was overwhelmingly defeated.

Retiring to Lindenwald, his fine estate near Kinderhook, Van Buren, in 1844, endeavored to procure a re-nomination for the Presidency, but was unsuccessful, though a majority of delegates was pledged to support him. His defeat was due to the opposition of Southern members, based on the fact that he had written a letter adverse to the annexation of Texas.

In 1848, he was brought forward by the Free-soil Democrats. Though not elected, the party which had nominated him showed unexpected strength, nearly three hundred thousand votes having been cast in his favor.

Mr. Van Buren now retired from public life. Fourteen years later, at the age of eighty, on the 24th of July, 1862, he died at Lindenwald. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, of cultivated manners, and genial disposition. Though shrewd, he was not a dishonest politician. His private character was beyond reproach. He deserves a conspicuous position among those who have been worthy successors of our immortal first President.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, ninth President of the United States, was born at Berkeley, on the banks of the James River, in Virginia, on the 9th of February, 1773. His father, Benjamin Harrison, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and for several years Governor of Virginia. Having received a good education at Hampden-Sidney College, young Harrison began the study of medicine; but the barbarities of the savages on our northwestern frontier having excited his sympathies in behalf of the suffering settlers, he determined to enter the army, as being a place where he could do good service. Accordingly, in 1791, shortly after St. Clair's defeat, he obtained from President Washington a commission as ensign in the artillery. Though winter was coming on, he at once set out on foot across the wilderness to Pittsburg, whence he descended the Ohio to Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. He soon became a favorite with his superiors, and by his bravery in battle speedily attained the rank of captain. In 1797, when but twenty-four years old, having recently married, he resigned his commission, to accept the secretaryship of the Northwest Territory. In 1801, he was appointed Governor of "the Indiana Territory," comprising the present

States of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. This office he filled satisfactorily to both whites and Indians for twelve years, during which time he negotiated many excellent treaties.

During the summer of 1811, the Indians of the Northwest, under the lead of the celebrated Tecumseh, and instigated, it is thought, by the emissaries of England, with whom we were upon the point of going to war, broke out into open hostility. Collecting a considerable force of militia and volunteers, Harrison took the field. On the 7th of November, he encountered and defeated Tecumseh on the banks of the Tippecanoe River. This was one of the most hotly contested battles ever fought between the Indians and the whites. Its victorious results added greatly to Harrison's already high reputation; and in 1812, after Hull's ignominious surrender of Detroit, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of the Northwest. Invested with almost absolute power, he displayed an energy, sagacity, and courage which justified the confidence reposed in him. By almost superhuman exertions, he managed to collect an army. Perry, on the 10th of September, 1813, having defeated the British fleet on Lake Erie, Harrison, who had been waiting the course of events, now hastened to take the field. Crossing into Canada, he repossessed Detroit, and, pushing on in pursuit of the flying enemy, finally brought them to a stand on the banks of

the Thames. Here, after a brief but sanguinary contest, the British and their savage allies were defeated with heavy loss. Tecumseh, the leading spirit of the Indians, was left dead on the field. Harrison's triumph was complete and decisive.

Shortly after this victory, which gave peace to the Northwest, Harrison, having had some difficulty with the Secretary of War, threw up his commission, but was appointed by the President to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. In 1816, he was elected to the lower house of Congress, where he gained considerable reputation, both as an active working member and as an eloquent and effective speaker. In 1824, he was sent from Ohio to the United States Senate. In 1828, he was appointed by John Quincy Adams Minister to the Republic of Colombia; but President Jackson, who bore him no good-will, the following year recalled him. On his return home, he retired to his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio River, and was presently elected clerk of the Hamilton County Court. In 1836, he was one of the four candidates who ran against Van Buren for the Presidency. Jackson's favorite, as we have seen, came out ahead in this race. But, though Harrison was not elected, there was such evidence of his popularity as to warrant the Whigs in uniting upon him as their candidate in the campaign of 1840.

That campaign was a memorable one. It was, perhaps, the most exciting, yet, at the same time,

one of the freest from extreme partisan bitterness, of any Presidential canvass ever known. As "the hero of Tippecanoe" and "the log-cabin candidate," which latter phrase was first used in contempt, Harrison swept everything before him, securing two hundred and thirty-four out of the two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes cast, and this, too, in spite of all the efforts of Jackson to prevent his success. His journey to be inaugurated was one continued ovation. His inauguration, which took place on the 4th of March, 1841, was witnessed by a vast concourse of people from all parts of the Union. His address, by the moderation of its tone, and by its plain, practical, common-sense views, confirmed his immense popularity. Selecting for his Cabinet some of the most eminent public men of the country, he began his Administration with the brightest prospects. But, in the midst of these pleasing anticipations, he was suddenly attacked by a fit of sickness, which, in a few days terminated in his death, on the 4th of April, just one month after his inauguration. His last words, spoken in the delirium of fever, were characteristic of the conscientiousness with which he had accepted the responsibilities of the Presidential office. "Sir," he said, as if, conscious of his approaching end, he were addressing his successor, "I wish you to understand the principles of the Government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more."

The sudden and unexpected death of President Harrison threw the whole country into mourning. Much had been hoped from him, as one who had the best interests of every portion of the Union at heart. There was a noble simplicity in his character which had won all hearts. Without being brilliant, his was an intellect of solid, substantial worth. He was a frank, guileless-hearted man, of incorruptible integrity, and stands forth among our Presidents, brief as was his official term, as a noble representative of the plain, practical, honest yeomanry of the land. "Not one single spot," says Abbott, "can be found to sully the brightness of his fame; and through all the ages, Americans will pronounce with love and reverence the name of William Henry Harrison."

JOHN TYLER.

ON the death of General Harrison, April 4th, 1841, for the first time in our history the administration of the Government devolved on the Vice-President. The gentleman thus elevated to the Presidency was John Tyler, the son of a wealthy landholder of Virginia, at one time Governor of that State. Born in Charles City County, March 29th, 1790, young Tyler, at the age of seventeen, graduated from William and Mary College with the reputation of

having delivered the best commencement oration ever heard by the faculty. When only nineteen he began to practice law, rising to eminence in his profession with surprising rapidity. Two years later he was elected to the Legislature. After serving five successive terms in the Legislature, he was, in 1816, in 1817, and again in 1819, elected to Congress. Compelled by ill-health to resign his seat in Congress, he was, in 1825, chosen Governor of the State. In 1827, he was elected to the United States Senate over the celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke.

During the whole of his Congressional career, Mr. Tyler was an earnest advocate of the strict construction doctrines of the then Democratic party, opposing the United States Bank, a protective tariff, internal improvements by the General Government, and, in short, all measures tending to the centralization of power. He was also an ardent opponent of any restrictions upon slavery, and avowed his sympathies with the nullification theories of Calhoun. On this last subject he finally came into the opposition against Jackson. In the session of 1833–'34, he voted for Clay's resolutions censuring Jackson for his removal of the deposits. In 1836, when the Virginia Legislature instructed its representatives in Congress to vote for the rescinding of these resolutions, Mr. Tyler, who had early committed himself to the right of instruction, could not conscientiously

comply with the request of the Legislature, nor hold his seat in disregard of its mandate, and accordingly resigned. In 1838, he was again sent to the Legislature, and, in 1839, we find him a delegate to the Whig National Convention, which, at Harrisburg, nominated Harrison and himself as candidates for President and Vice-President. Of the campaign which followed, and of the subsequent death of Harrison, we have already given an account.

On receiving tidings of the President's death, Mr. Tyler hastened to Washington, and, on the 6th of April, was inaugurated, and he retained all the Cabinet officers Harrison had appointed. Three days later, he issued an inaugural address, which was well received, both by the public and by his partisan friends, who, knowing his antecedents, had been somewhat dubious as to what policy he would pursue. But this was only the calm before the storm. Tyler's veto of the bill for a "fiscal bank of the United States," led to a complete rupture with the party by which he had been elected, who charged him with treachery to his principles. Attempting conciliation, he only displeased the Democrats, who had at first shown a disposition to stand by him, without regaining the favor of the Whigs. In consequence of this course of action, Tyler's Cabinet all resigned, and in their places several Democrats were appointed.

During his Administration several very important measures were adopted. Among them the act establishing a uniform system of bankruptcy, passed in 1841, the tariff law of 1842, and the scheme for the annexation of Texas, which, by the vigorous efforts of the President, was brought to a successful issue by the passage of joint resolutions in Congress, on the 1st of March, 1845, just three days before the close of his term. The formal act of annexation, however, was not passed until a later period. One new State—Florida—was also admitted into the Union under Mr. Tyler's Administration, in 1845.

After his retirement from the Presidency, on the 4th of March, 1845, Mr. Tyler remained in private life at his beautiful home of Sherwood Forest, in Charles City County, till, in 1861, he appeared as a member of the Peace Convention, composed of delegates from the "Border States," which met at Washington to endeavor to arrange terms of compromise between the seceded States and the General Government. Of this Convention, which accomplished nothing, he was president.

Subsequently, Mr. Tyler renounced his allegiance to the United States, and was chosen a member of the Confederate Congress. While acting in this capacity he was taken sick at Richmond, where he died after a brief illness, on the 17th of January, 1862.

JAMES KNOX POLK.

MECKLENBURG County, North Carolina, has the distinction of being the birthplace of two Presidents of the United States—Andrew Jackson and James Knox Polk—the latter of whom was born there on the 2d of November, 1795. Like his friend and neighbor, General Jackson, Mr. Polk was of Scotch-Irish descent. It was his great-uncle, Colonel Thomas Polk, who, on the 19th of May, 1775, read from the steps of the court-house, at Charlotte, that famous "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," to which reference has been made in our sketch of Jefferson. James at a very early age manifested decided literary tastes. After a vain attempt to induce him to become a storekeeper, his father finally consented to his entering the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, from which, in his twenty-third year, he graduated with the highest honors. Studying law at Nashville, Tennessee, where he renewed a former acquaintance with General Jackson, he was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Columbia.

In 1823, he was elected to the Legislature of Tennessee, and during the following year was married to Miss Sarah Childress, a beautiful and accomplished young lady, of refined manners and

rare social gifts. In the fall of 1825, he was elected to Congress, where he remained the next fourteen years, during five sessions occupying the responsible and honorable position of Speaker of the House, the duties of which he performed with a dignity and dispassionateness which won for him the warmest encomiums from all parties. In 1839, he was chosen Governor of Tennessee. Again a candidate in 1841, and also in 1843, he was both times defeated,—a result due to one of those periodical revolutions in politics which seem inseparable from republican forms of government, rather than to Mr. Polk's lack of personal popularity.

As the avowed friend of the annexation of Texas, Mr. Polk, in 1844, was nominated by the Democrats for the Presidency. Though he had for his opponent no less a person than the great and popular orator and statesman, Henry Clay, he received one hundred and seventy out of two hundred and seventy-five votes in the electoral college. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845. Three days previously, his predecessor, John Tyler, had signed the joint resolutions of Congress favoring the annexation of Texas to the United States. Consequently, at the very beginning of his Administration, Mr. Polk found the country involved in disputes with Mexico, which, on the formal annexation of Texas, in December, 1845, threatened to result in hostilities between

the two countries. General Zachary Taylor was sent with a small army to occupy the territory stretching from the Neuces to the Rio Grande, which latter stream Texas claimed as her western boundary. Mexico, on the other hand, declaring that Texas had never extended further west than the Neuces, dispatched a force to watch Taylor. A slight collision, in April, 1846, was followed, a few days later, by the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in which General Taylor was victorious. When the tidings of these battles reached Washington, the President, on May 11th, sent a special message to Congress, declaring "that war existed by the act of Mexico," and asking for men and money to carry it on. Congress promptly voted ten million dollars, and authorized the President to call out fifty thousand volunteers. Hostilities were prosecuted vigorously. An American army, under General Scott, finally fought its way to the capture of the City of Mexico. On the 2d of February, 1848, the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo was signed, and ratified by the Senate on the 10th of March following, by which New Mexico and Upper California, comprising a territory of more than half a million square miles, were added to the United States. In return, the United States agreed to pay Mexico fifteen million of dollars, and to assume the debts due by Mexico to citizens of the United States, amounting to three and a half millions more.

Besides Texas, two other States were admitted into the Union during Mr. Polk's Administration. These were Iowa and Wisconsin—the former in 1846 and the latter in 1848.

When the war with Mexico first broke out, negotiations were pending between England and the United States, in regard to Oregon, which we had long deemed a portion of our own territory. "Fifty-four forty [54° 40′] or fight!" had been one of the Democratic battle-cries during the canvass which resulted in Mr. Polk's election, and he, in his inaugural, had maintained that our title to Oregon was unquestionable. England, however, still urged her claim to the whole country. After considerable negotiation, the President finally, as an amicable compromise, offered the boundary of the parallel of 49°, giving Vancouver's Island to Great Britain. His offer was accepted, and war perhaps avoided. Another important measure of Mr. Polk's Administration was a modification of the tariff, in 1846, by which its former protective features were much lessened.

On his nomination, in 1844, Mr. Polk had pledged himself to the one-term principle. Consequently he was not a candidate for re-election in 1848. Having witnessed the inauguration of his successor, General Taylor, he returned to his home near Nashville. "He was then," says Abbott, but fifty-four years of age. He had ever been strictly temperate in his habits, and his health was

good. With an ample fortune, a choice library, a cultivated mind, and domestic ties of the dearest nature, it seemed as though long years of tranquillity and happiness were before him." But it was not so to be. On his way home he felt premonitory symptoms of cholera, and when he reached there his system was much weakened. Though at first able to work a little in superintending the fitting up of his grounds, he was soon compelled to take to his bed. He never rose from it again. Though finally the disease was checked, he had not strength left to bring on the necessary reaction. "He died without a struggle, simply ceasing to breathe, as when deep and quiet sleep falls upon a weary man," on the 15th of June, 1849, a little more than three months after his retirement from the Presidency. His remains lie in the spacious lawn of his former home in the city of Nashville.

ZACHARY TAYLOR,

TWELFTH President of the United States, was born in Orange County, Virginia, November 24th, 1784. His father, Colonel Richard Taylor, was a noted Revolutionary officer. His mother, as is usually the case with the mothers of men who have risen to distinction, was a woman of great force of character. Whilst he

was yet an infant, his parents removed to the then wilderness near the present city of Louisville. Here in the depths of the forest swarming with hostile savages, young Taylor found few educational advantages, though the training he received was no doubt one to develop those military qualities he subsequently displayed. He grew up a rugged, brave, self-reliant youth, with more of a certain frank, almost blunt, off-handedness, than exterior polish.

In 1808, he received a lieutenant's commission in the army, and in 1810 married Margaret Smith. His military career fairly opened in 1812, when he was sent to the defense of our western border. While in command of Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, with a garrison of but fifty-two men, he was suddenly attacked by a band of Indians, who succeeded in setting fire to the fort. But the young captain with his handful of men extinguished the flames, and forced the enemy to retreat. For this gallant exploit, he received a brevet major's commission.

Nothing remarkable occurred in his life for many years subsequent, until, in 1837, we find him a colonel in Florida, operating against the Seminoles. On Christmas Day of that year he won the battle of Okechobee, one of the most fiercely contested actions in the annals of Indian warfare. The Seminoles never rallied again in formidable numbers. For his signal services in

this affair Taylor was made a brigadier, and appointed Commander-in-chief. This post he retained till 1840, when, having purchased an estate near Baton Rouge, in Louisiana, he was, at his own request, placed in the command of the Department of the Southwest.

While still holding this command in the spring of 1845, Congress having passed joint resolutions for the annexation of Texas, General Taylor was sent with four thousand troops to Corpus Christi, on the west bank of the Neuces, and in territory claimed by both Mexico and Texas. It has been said that it was the secret object of our Government to provoke a conflict with Mexico, yet so that the responsibility of it should appear to rest upon General Taylor. If such was the object, the scheme signally failed. Taylor made no move without explicit orders. It was by the President's positive command that, on the 8th of March, 1846, the wary old General began his march into the disputed district lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande. Reaching the latter stream on the 28th, he built Fort Brown immediately opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras. On the 12th of March the Mexican commander peremptorily ordered Taylor to retire beyond the Neuces. A refusal to do this, he said, would be regarded as a declaration of war. General Taylor replied that his instructions would not permit him to retire, and that if the Mexicans saw fit to com-

mence hostilities he would not shrink from the conflict. Six thousand Mexicans at once crossed the Rio Grande. With less than three thousand troops, Taylor, on the 8th of April, attacked and defeated them at Palo Alto. Rallying in a strong position at Resaca de la Palma, the Mexicans were again attacked, and after a stubborn fight driven back across the river with great loss. These victories were hailed with the wildest enthusiasm throughout the country, and Taylor was promoted to a major-generalship.

Moving rapidly forward to Monterey, he took that strongly fortified city, after a desperate fight of three days. Making it his headquarters, the victor was preparing for an important move, when General Scott, who was about to lead an expedition against Vera Cruz, took away the best part of his troops, leaving him with only five thousand men, mostly raw volunteers. Hearing of this, Santa Anna, undoubtedly the ablest of the Mexican generals, with twenty thousand picked men, pushed rapidly down the Rio Grande with the design of overpowering Taylor's little army. The latter, on the 21st of February, 1847, took position at Buena Vista and awaited the approach of his antagonist, who made his appearance the following day, and at once began a fierce attack. Never was battle fought with more desperate courage or greater skill. Three times during the day victory seemed with the Mexicans; but finally the

stubborn valor of Taylor's little band won the field.

The tidings of this brilliant victory excited the greatest enthusiasm and gained an imperishable renown for the triumphant General. On his return home in November, "Old Rough and Ready," as his soldiers familiarly called him, was greeted everywhere by the warmest demonstrations of popular applause. Even before this he had been nominated at public meetings for the Presidency; and now the Whigs, casting about for a popular candidate, made him their party nominee. Notwithstanding the defection from their ranks of Henry Wilson and others, who were opposed to Taylor as being a slave-holder, he was elected by a respectable majority, receiving one hundred and sixty-three electoral votes. His inauguration took place on Monday, March 5th, 1849.

Though he selected an excellent Cabinet, the old soldier found himself in a trying position. A vehement struggle had commenced in Congress about the organization of the new Territories, the admission of California, and the settlement of the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, all these questions being connected with the great and absorbing one of the extension or non-extension of slavery. Taylor, in his message to Congress, recommended the admission of California as a free State, and that the remaining Territories should be allowed to form State Con-

stitutions to suit themselves. Nothing could have been more distasteful to the extremists of the South, many of whom made open threats of secession in case of the adoption of the President's suggestions. To adjust the difficulty, Mr. Clay, in the Senate, introduced his "compromise measures," which were still under debate, when, on the 4th of July, 1850, General Taylor was seized with bilious fever, of which he died on the 9th at the Presidential Mansion. His last words were: "I have tried to do my duty."

MILLARD FILLMORE.

ON the death of General Taylor, his successor, according to the Constitution, was the Vice-President. The gentleman then filling that position was Millard Fillmore, an eminent lawyer of New York. He was comparatively a young man, having been born on the 7th of January, 1800, at Summer Hill, Cayuga County, New York. His father being poor, his means of education had been limited. Apprenticed at the age of fourteen to a clothier, he found time during his evenings to gratify an insatiable thirst for knowledge by reading. His studious habits, fine personal appearance, and gentlemanly bearing having attracted the attention of a lawyer in the neighborhood, that gentleman offered to receive

him in his office and to assist him pecuniarily until he should be admitted to the bar. This offer young Fillmore, then in his nineteenth year, thankfully accepted. With this help, and by teaching during the winters, he was enabled to prosecute his studies to a successful issue, and in 1823 was admitted to the bar, opening an office in the village of Aurora, New York. In 1826, he married Miss Abigail Powers, a lady of eminent worth.

Mr. Fillmore steadily rose in his profession. In 1829, he was elected by the Whigs to the State Legislature, and soon afterward removed to Buffalo. In 1832, he was chosen a member of Congress, and again in 1837, but declined running a third time. He now had a wide reputation, and in the year 1847 was elected State Comptroller and removed to Albany. The following year, he was placed in nomination as Vice-President on the ticket with General Taylor. When, on the 5th of March, 1849, Taylor took the Presidential chair, Mr. Fillmore, by virtue of his office, became President of the United States Senate. Here, the first presiding officer to take so firm a step, he announced his determination, in spite of all precedents to the contrary, to promptly call Senators to order for any offensive words they might utter in debate.

When, after the unexpected death of General Taylor, on July 9th, 1850, the office of chief executive devolved upon Mr. Fillmore, he found

his position no easy or pleasant one. His political opponents had a majority in both houses of Congress. The controversy on the slavery question had embittered public feeling, and it required a skillful pilot to guide the ship of state safely through the perils by which she was surrounded. The compromise measures of Mr. Clay, to which we have already referred in our sketch of General Taylor, were finally passed, and received the approving signature of Mr. Fillmore. One of these measures was the admission of California as a free State; another was the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These were thought to be concessions to the cause of freedom; while, on the other hand, to satisfy the pro-slavery agitators, a bill was passed to give the owners of slaves power to recapture fugitive slaves in any part of the free States and carry them back without a jury trial. But, though enacted in the hope of allaying sectional animosity, these measures brought about only a temporary calm, while they aggravated the violence of extremists both North and South.

The compromise measures and the fitting out of the famous Japan expedition were the principal features of Mr. Fillmore's otherwise uneventful Administration. On the 4th of March, 1853, he retired from office, and immediately afterward took a long tour through the Southern States, where he met with a cordial reception.

In 1855, Mr. Fillmore visited Europe. He was everywhere received with those marks of attention which, according to European ideas, are due to those who have occupied the most distinguished positions. On his return home, in 1856, he was nominated for the Presidency by the so-called "Know-nothing," or "American" party; but being very decidedly defeated, he retired to private life. He died at Buffalo, New York, on the 8th of March, 1874.

FRANKLIN PIERCE,

FOURTEENTH President of the United States, was born at Hillsborough, N. H., November 23d, 1804. His father, General Benjamin Pierce, was a soldier of the Revolution, and was a man of considerable local repute, having also served as Governor of New Hampshire. Graduating from Bowdoin College in 1824, Mr. Pierce studied law with the celebrated Levi Woodbury, and commenced practice in his native town in 1837. He married in 1834. He early entered the political field and, in 1833, after having previously served several terms in the State Legislature, was elected to Congress. Here he showed himself an earnest State-rights Democrat, and was regarded as a fair working member. In 1837, when but thirty-three years of age, he was

elected to the National Senate and, during the following year, removed to Concord, where he at once took rank among the leading lawyers of the State.

Though Mr. Pierce had declined the office of Attorney-General of the United States, offered to him by President Polk, he, nevertheless, when hostilities were declared against Mexico, accepted a brigadier-generalship in the army, successfully marching with twenty-four hundred men from the sea-coast to Puebla, where he reinforced General Scott. The latter, on the arrival of Pierce, immediately prepared to make his long-contemplated attack upon the City of Mexico. At the battle of Contreras, on the 19th of August, 1847, where he led an assaulting column four thousand strong, General Pierce showed himself to be a brave and energetic soldier. Early in the fight his leg was broken by his horse falling upon him, yet he kept his saddle during the entire conflict, which did not cease till eleven o'clock at night. The next day also, he took part in the still more desperate fight at Churubusco, where, overcome by pain and exhaustion, he fainted on the field. At Molino Del Rey, where the hottest battle of the war was fought, he narrowly escaped death from a shell which bursted beneath his horse.

The American army triumphantly entered the City of Mexico on the 13th of September, 1847. General Pierce remained there until the following

December, when he returned home and resumed the practice of his profession. In the Democratic Convention which met at Baltimore, June 1st, 1852, Cass, Buchanan, and Douglas were the prominent candidates. After thirty-five indecisive ballots Franklin Pierce was proposed, and on the forty-ninth ballot he was nominated for the Presidency. He was elected by an overwhelming majority, and was inaugurated Chief Magistrate on the 4th of March, 1853, receiving two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes, while his opponent, General Winfield Scott, received but forty-two.

Though both the great parties of the country had adopted platforms favoring the recent compromise measures of Clay, and deprecating any renewal of the agitation of the slavery question, General Pierce's Administration, by reason of the bringing up of that very question, was one of the most stormy in our history. Douglas's bill for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska, by which the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was repealed allowing slavery to enter where it had been forever excluded, and which, having the support of the President, became a law on the last day of May, 1853, excited the most intense indignation in the free States, and greatly increased the strength of the anti-slavery power. In Kansas a bitter contest, almost attaining the proportions of civil war, began between the partisans of the South and the North. This contest was

still raging when Mr. Pierce's term drew to its close. Other events of his Administration were the bombardment of Greytown, in Central America, under orders from our Government; efforts under Government direction for the acquisition of Cuba; and the use of the President's official influence and patronage against the Anti-Slavery settlers of Kansas.

His friends sought to obtain his nomination for a second term, but did not succeed.. On the 4th of March, 1857, therefore, he retired to his home at Concord. That home, already bereaved by the loss of three promising boys—his only children, —was now to have a still greater loss,—that of the wife and afflicted mother, who, grief-stricken at the sudden death, by a railroad accident, of her last boy, sunk under consumption, leaving Mr. Pierce alone in the world—wifeless as well as childless.

The sorrowing ex-President soon after took a trip to Madeira, and made a protracted tour in Europe, returning home in 1860. During the Civil War he delivered in Concord a speech, still known as the "Mausoleum of Hearts Speech," in which he is regarded as having expressed a decided sympathy for the Confederates. He died at Concord on the 8th of October, 1869, having lost much of his hold on the respect of his fellow-citizens, both North and South, by his lack of decision for either.

JAMES BUCHANAN,

FIFTEENTH President of the United States, was born in Franklin County, Pa., April 22d, 1791. His father, a native of the North of Ireland, who had come eight years before to America, with no capital but his strong arms and energetic spirit, was yet able to give the bright and studious boy a good collegiate education at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., where he graduated in 1809. He then began the study of law at Lancaster, and, after a three years' course, was admitted to practice in 1812. He rose rapidly in his profession, the business of which increased with his reputation, so that, at the age of forty, he was enabled to retire with an ample fortune.

Mr. Buchanan early entered into politics. When but twenty-three years old, he was elected to the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Though an avowed Federalist, he not only spoke in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the War of 1812, but likewise marched as a private soldier to the defense of Baltimore. In 1820, he was elected to the lower House of Congress, where he speedily attained eminence as a finished and energetic speaker. His political views are shown in the following extract from one of his speeches in Congress: "If I know myself, I am a politician

neither of the West nor the East, of the North nor of the South. I therefore shall forever avoid any expressions the direct tendency of which must be to create sectional jealousies, and at length disunion—that worst of all political calamities." That he sincerely endeavored in his future career to act in accordance with the principles here enunciated no candid mind can doubt, however much he may be regarded to have failed in doing so, especially during the eventful last months of his Administration.

In 1831, at the close of his fifth term, Mr. Buchanan, having declined a re-election to Congress, was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg, where he concluded the first commercial treaty between the United States and Russia. On his return home in 1833, he was elected to the National Senate. Here he became one of the leading spirits among the supporters of President Jackson, and also supported the Administration of Martin Van Buren. He was re-elected to the Senate, and his last act as a Senator was to report favorably on the admission of Texas, he being the only member of the Committee on Foreign Relations to do so.

On the election of Polk to the Presidency, in 1845, Mr. Buchanan was selected to fill the important position of Secretary of State. He strongly opposed the "Wilmot Proviso," and all other provisions for the restriction of slavery.

At the close of Polk's term, he withdrew to private life, but was subsequently sent by President Pierce as our Minister to England. It was while acting in this capacity that he united with Mason and Soulé in the once celebrated "Ostend Manifesto," in which strong ground was taken in favor of the annexation of Cuba to the United States, by purchase, if possible, but if necessary, by force.

Returning home in 1856, he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. and, after a stormy campaign, elected, receiving one hundred and seventy-four out of three hundred and three electoral votes. His opponents were John C. Fremont, Republican, and Millard Fillmore, American. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857. With the exception of a slight difficulty with the Mormons in Utah, and of the admission into the Union of Minnesota in 1858, and of Oregon in 1859, the chief interest of Mr. Buchanan's Administration centered around the slavery controversy.

At the time of his inauguration, it is true, the country looked confidently forward to a period of political quiet. But, unhappily, the Kansas difficulty had not been settled. The Free-State party in that territory refused obedience to the laws passed by the local Legislature, on the grounds that that Legislature had been elected by fraudulent means. They even chose a rival Legislature, which, however, the President refused to recog-

nize. Meanwhile the so-called regular Legislature, which Congress had sanctioned, passed a bill for the election of delegates by the people to frame a State Constitution for Kansas. An election was accordingly held; the Convention met, and after a stormy and protracted session, completed its work. The Lecompton Constitution, as it was called, when laid before Congress, met with strong opposition from the Republicans, on the ground that it had been fraudulently concocted. The President, however, gave it all his influence, believing that it would bring peace to the country, while not preventing Kansas from being a free State, should its people so desire; and finally, after a struggle of extraordinary violence and duration, it received the sanction of Congress.

But quiet was not restored. In the North, the feeling against the President and his party became intense. The election in 1860 resulted in the triumph of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for the Presidency. The period between Lincoln's election and his inauguration was one of peculiar trial to President Buchanan. An attempt to incite a slave insurrection, made at Harper's Ferry, in 1859, by John Brown, of Kansas, for which he was hanged by the authorities of Virginia, had created a profound sensation in the South, where it was regarded by many as indicative of the fixed purpose of the North to destroy slavery at all hazards. The election of Lincoln following

so soon after this event, added strength to their apprehensions. As soon as the result of the canvass became known, South Carolina seceded from the Union. Mr. Buchanan, apparently regarding the fears and complaints of the South as not without some just grounds, seems to have endeavored to bring about a peaceful solution of the difficulties before him by attempts at conciliation. But however good his intentions may have been, his policy, which has been characterized as weak, vacillating, and cowardly, so signally failed, that when, on the 4th of March, 1861, he retired from the Presidency, he handed over to his successor an almost hopelessly divided Union, from which seven States had already seceded.

Mr. Buchanan also used his influence for the purchase of Cuba as a means of extending slave territory. He permitted the seizure of Southern forts and arsenals, and the removal of muskets from Northern to Southern armories as the secession movements matured, and in his message of December, 1860, he directly cast upon the North the blame of the disrupted Union.

Remaining in Washington long enough to witness the installation of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Buchanan withdrew to the privacy of Wheatland, his country home, near Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. Here he spent the remainder of his days, taking no prominent part in public affairs. In 1866, he published a volume entitled, *Mr. Buchanan's*

Administration, in which he explained and defended the policy he had pursued while in the Presidential office. He never married. His death occurred at his mansion at Wheatland, on the 1st of June, 1868.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

SIXTEENTH President of the Union, was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809. His parents were extremely poor, and could give him but scant opportunities of education. It is supposed that his ancestors came to this country from England among the original followers of William Penn. About the middle of the last century they lived in Berks County, Pennsylvania, whence one branch of the family moved to Virginia. The subject of this sketch was taught to read and write by his mother, a woman of intelligence far above her humble station. When he was in his eighth year, the family removed to the then wilderness of Spencer County, Indiana, where, in the course of three or four years, the boy Abraham, who was quick and eager to learn, had a chance to acquire the rudiments of the more ordinary branches of such a common-school education as was to be obtained in that rude frontier district; but his mother died when he was about eleven years old,

which was to him a sad loss. At the age of nineteen, he set out in a flat-boat, containing a cargo of considerable value, on a voyage to New Orleans. While passing down the Mississippi, they were attacked by a thieving band of negroes, but they courageously beat off the robbers, and succeeded in reaching their destination safely.

In 1830, Lincoln's father removed to Decatur County, Illinois. Here Abraham assisted in establishing the new home. It was on this occasion that he split the famous rails from which, years after, he received his name of "the rail-splitter." During the severe winter which followed, by his exertions and skill as a hunter, he contributed greatly in keeping the family from starvation. The next two years he passed through as a farm-hand and as a clerk in a country store. In the Black-Hawk War, which broke out in 1832, he served creditably as a volunteer, and on his return home ran for the Legislature, but was defeated. He next tried store-keeping, but failed; and then, having learned something of surveying, worked two or three years quite successfully as a surveyor for the Government. In 1834, he was elected to the Legislature, in which he did the extremely unpopular act of recording his name against some pro-slavery legislation of that body. He soon after took up the study of law, being admitted to the bar in 1837, when he removed to Springfield, and began to practice. John T. Stuart

was his business partner. In 1842, he married Miss Mary Todd, daughter of Robert S. Todd, Esq., of Lexington, Kentucky. He rose rapidly in his profession, to which having served a second term in the Legislature, he devoted himself assiduously till 1844, during which year he canvassed the State in behalf of Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate for the Presidency. In 1847, he took his seat in the lower house of Congress, where he was the only Whig from the whole State of Illinois. Serving but a single term in Congress, Mr. Lincoln, in 1848, canvassed the State for General Taylor, and the following year was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the United States Senate. He now renewed his devotion to his legal pursuits, yet still retained a deep interest in national politics.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which created a profound sensation throughout the entire North, brought about a complete political revolution in Illinois, and the State went over to the Whigs. In this revolution Mr. Lincoln took a most active part, and gained a wide reputation as an effective stump speaker. In 1856, he was brought prominently before the first Republican National Convention, and came very near being nominated as its candidate for the Vice-Presidency. In 1858, as Republican candidate for United States Senator, he canvassed Illinois in opposition to Judge Douglas, the Democratic nominee.

Douglas was, perhaps, one of the most effective public speakers of the time, yet it is generally conceded that Lincoln, though he failed to obtain the Senatorship, was fully equal to his distinguished and no doubt more polished opponent. The rare versatility and comprehensiveness of Mr. Lincoln's mind found full illustration in this exciting contest.

During the next eighteen months, Mr. Lincoln visited various parts of the country, delivering speeches of marked ability and power; and when, in May, 1860, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago, he was, on the third ballot, chosen as its candidate for the Presidency. In consequence of a division in the Democratic party, he was elected, receiving one hundred and eighty out of three hundred and three electoral votes. In the popular vote the result was as follows: Lincoln, 1,887,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckenridge, Pro-slavery Democrat, 883,082; Bell, Constitutional-Union party, 646,124: thus leaving Lincoln in the minority of the popular vote by nearly a million.

The election of Lincoln was at once made a pretext for dissolving the Union. Though he had repeatedly declared his intention not to interfere with the existing institutions of the South, and to hold inviolate his official oath to maintain the Constitution, all was of no avail to dissuade that section from its predetermined purpose. A

month before he was inaugurated six Southern States, having solemnly withdrawn from the Union, met in convention and framed the Constitution of a new and independent Confederacy.

The President-elect left his home in Springfield on the 11th of February, 1861, and proceeded by a somewhat circuitous route to Washington, delivering short, pithy addresses in the larger towns and cities through which he passed. He also visited the Legislatures of several Northern States, everywhere reiterating his purpose, while not disturbing the domestic relations of the South, to maintain the Union intact at all hazards. Though informed at Philadelphia that a plot had been formed for his assassination in Baltimore, he reached Washington on February 23d without molestation, and on the 4th of March was duly inaugurated in the presence of an immense assemblage from all parts of the country.

In his inaugural address the new President, assuring the people of the South that he had taken the oath to support the Constitution unreservedly, and that there were no grounds for any fear that "their property," peace, or persons were to be endangered, declared it to be his firm intention to execute the laws, collect duties and imposts, and to hold the public properties in all the States—with no bloodshed, however, unless it should be forced upon the national authority.

On entering upon the duties of his office, Mr. Lincoln found the condition of affairs far from encouraging. Seven States had already withdrawn from the Union, and others were preparing to follow their example. The credit of the Government was low; the army and navy not only small and inefficient, but scattered all through our wide domain; and the greater part of the public arms, through the treachery of certain officials, were in the possession of the seceded States. Still, he was hopeful and buoyant, and believed that the pending difficulties would soon be adjusted. Even when, on the 14th of April, 1861, the bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter by a Confederate Army roused the North to intense action, though he immediately issued a call for 75,000 volunteers, it was seemingly with but a faint idea that they would be needed. The fact that they were summoned for only three months—a period far from long enough for the organization of so large a body of men—is of itself sufficient evidence of the delusion under which he was laboring.

The battle of Bull Run, on the 21st of July, 1861, which resulted in the total route of the Government forces, in a great measure dispelled this delusion. The real magnitude of the contest now began to show itself to Mr. Lincoln. Yet his courage never faltered, nor was he less hopeful of the final triumph of the Union. Cheerfully

accepting the burden of cares and responsibilities so suddenly thrown upon him, he put his whole heart in the work before him, and not even the disasters of 1862, that gloomiest year of the war, could for a moment shake his confiding spirit. People were not wanting who found fault with the buoyant temper he displayed at that period; but his apparent cheeriness was of as much avail as our armies in bringing about the triumph which at last came.

Of the struggle which resulted in this triumph we shall give no details, only referring briefly to some of the more important actions of the President. The most momentous of these, without doubt, was the Emancipation Proclamation, issued on the 22d of September, 1862, and to take effect on the 1st of January, 1863, by which slavery was at once and forever done away with in the United States. In his message to Congress, the President thus explains this act: "In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth. * * * The way is plain, peaceful, glorious, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless."

In 1864, by a respectable majority in the popular vote and a large one in the electoral college, Mr Lincoln was re-elected to the Presidency.

At the period of his second inauguration, the complete triumph of the Federal authority over the seceded States was assured. The last battles of the war had been fought. War had substantially ceased. The President was looking forward to the more congenial work of pacification. How he designed to carry out this work we may judge from the following passage in his second inaugural: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all that may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Unfortunately, the kind-hearted Lincoln was not to carry out the work of pacification to which he looked forward with such bright anticipations. But a little more than a month after his second inauguration—on the night of the 14th of April, 1865—John Wilkes Booth, one of a small band of desperate conspirators, as insanely foolish as they were wicked, fired a pistol-ball into the brain of the President as he sat in his box at the theatre. The wound proved fatal in a few hours, Mr. Lincoln never recovering his consciousness.

The excitement which the assassination of the President occasioned was most intense. The whole country was in tears. Nor was this grief

confined to our own people. England, France, all Europe, and even the far-off countries of China and Japan, joined in the lamentation. Never was man more universally mourned, or more deserving of such widespread sorrow.

The funeral honors were grand and imposing. His body, having been embalmed, was taken to his home at Springfield, Illinois, passing through Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, and other large towns and cities. The entire road seemed to be lined with mourners, while in the chief cities the funeral ceremonies were equally solemn and magnificent.

ANDREW JOHNSON,

THE constitutional successor to President Lincoln, was born in Raleigh, N. C., December 29th, 1808. Prevented by the poverty of his parents from receiving any schooling, he was apprenticed, at the age of ten, to a tailor. On the expiration of his apprenticeship, he went to Greenville, Tenn., where he married. By his wife he was taught to write and to cipher, having already learned to read. Taking considerable interest in local politics, he formed a workingman's party in the town, by which he was elected alderman, and afterward Mayor. In 1835, he was elected to a seat in the Legislature

Failing of re-election in 1837, he was again successful in 1839; and in 1841, was elected to the State Senate. His ability was now recognized and, in 1843, he was sent to Congress as a Representative of the Democratic party. Having served five successive terms in Congress, he was, in 1853, elected Governor of Tennessee, and again in 1855. Two years later, he was called upon to represent Tennessee in the United States Senate, where he speedily rose to distinction as a man of great native energy. The free homestead bill, giving one hundred and sixty acres of the public land to every citizen who would settle upon it and cultivate it a certain number of years, owes its passage to his persistent advocacy. On the slavery question he generally went with the Democratic party, accepting slavery as an existing institution, protected by the Constitution.

In the Presidential canvass of 1860, Mr. Johnson was a supporter of Breckinridge, but took strong grounds against secession when that subject came up. His own State having voted itself out of the Union, it was at the peril of his life that he returned home in 1861. Attacked by a mob on a railroad car, he boldly faced his assailants, pistol in hand, and they slunk away. On the 4th of March, 1862, he was appointed Military Governor of Tennessee. He entered upon the duties of his office with a courage and vigor that soon entirely reversed the condition of affairs in

the State. By March, 1864, he had so far restored order that elections were held for State and County officers, and the usual machinery of civil government was once more set in motion.

On the 4th of March, 1865, Mr. Johnson was inaugurated as Vice-President of the United States. The assassination of President Lincoln, a little more than a month afterward, placed him in the vacant chief executive chair. Though Mr. Johnson made no distinct pledges, it was thought by the tone of his inaugural that he would pursue a severe course toward the seceded States. Yet the broad policy of restoration he finally adopted, met the earnest disapproval of the great party by which he had been elected. The main point at issue was, "whether the seceded States should be at once admitted to representation in Congress, and resume all the rights they had enjoyed before the Civil War, without further guarantees than the surrender of their armies, and with no provision for protecting the emancipated blacks."

Johnson, opposed to making any restrictive conditions, therefore persistently vetoed the various reconstructive measures adopted by Congress. Though these measures were finally passed over the President's vetoes by two-thirds of the votes of each house, yet his determined opposition to their policy, on the ground that it was unconstitutional, gave Congress great offense. This feeling finally became so intense, that the House of Repre-

sentatives brought articles of impeachment against him. The trial—the first of its kind known in our history—was conducted by the United States Senate, presided over by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The impeachment failed, however, yet only lacked one vote of the two-thirds majority requisite to the President's conviction.

In 1866, Mr. Johnson made a tour to Chicago, in the course of which he made many petty speeches, which brought upon him both censure and ridicule, but he was regarded as politically harmless, and to the close of his term, March 4th, 1869, he was allowed to pursue his own policy with but little opposition. Retiring to his home at Greenville, he began anew to take an active part in the politics of his State. It required several years, however, for him to regain anything like his earlier popularity; but finally, in January, 1875, he succeeded in securing his election once more to the Senate of the United States, but he died on the 30th of the following July.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

HISTORY has recorded few instances of the rapid and unexpected rise of individuals in humble circumstances to the highest positions, more remarkable than that afforded by the life of Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth

President of the United States. He was the son of Jesse R. and Hannah Simpson Grant, both natives of Pennsylvania. He was born April 27th, 1822, at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio. His early education was merely that of the common schools of his day. By a conjunction of favoring circumstances, he passed, in 1839, from the bark-mill of his father's tannery to the Military Academy at West Point. He was a diligent but not distinguished student. Having graduated in 1843, the twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine, he signalized himself by his bravery in the Mexican War, being rewarded therefor by a captain's commission. He then married Miss Julia J. Dent, of Saint Louis, and, after spending several years with his regiment in California and Oregon, left the service in July, 1854, tried farming and the real estate business with moderate success, and finally was taken by his father as a partner in his leather store at Galena.

He was yet thus humbly employed when President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 three months' men. Marching to Springfield at the head of a company of volunteers, his military knowledge made him exceedingly useful to Governor Yates, who retained him as mustering officer, until he was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, on the 17th of June, 1861. The following August, having been made a brigadier-general, he took command at Cai-

ro, where he displayed much activity and attracted some attention. On the 7th of November he fought the Battle of Belmont, where he had a horse shot under him. His capture of Fort Donelson, with all its defenders, on the 15th of February, 1862, after a severe battle resulting in the first real and substantial triumph of the war, at once gave Grant a national reputation. For this brilliant victory he was immediately rewarded by a commission as major-general of volunteers.

Soon after the capture of Donelson, General Grant was placed in command of an important expedition up the Tennessee River. At Pittsburg Landing, while preparing for an attack on Corinth, a part of his army was surprised, at daybreak of the 6th of April, by an overwhelming force of Confederates, and driven from their camp with severe loss. Rallying his men that evening under the protection of the gun-boats, Grant, having been reinforced during the night, renewed the battle the following morning, and, after an obstinate contest, compelled the enemy to fall back upon Corinth.

In July, General Grant was placed in command of the Department of West Tennessee, with his headquarters at Corinth, which the Confederates had evacuated in the previous May. On the 19th of September he gained a complete victory over the Confederates at Iuka, and then removed his headquarters to Jackson, Tennessee. Vicksburg,

on the Mississippi, having been strongly fortified and garrisoned by the enemy, the duty of taking that place devolved upon Grant. After several attempts against it from the north, all of which resulted more or less disastrously, he finally moved his army down the west bank of the river, and, crossing to the east side, at a point below the city, began, on the 18th of May, 1863, a formal siege, which lasted until the 4th of the ensuing July, when the place was surrendered, with nearly thirty thousand prisoners and an immense amount of military stores.

Grant's capture of Vicksburg, the result of that tenacity of purpose which is a marked trait in his character, was hailed with unbounded delight by the whole country. He was immediately commissioned a major-general in the regular army, and placed in command of the entire military Division of the Mississippi. Congress also, meeting in December, ordered a gold medal to be struck for him, and passed resolutions of thanks to him and his army. Still further, a bill reviving the grade of lieutenant-general was passed, and, on the 1st of March, 1864, Grant was appointed by President Lincoln to the position thus created.

Having now been placed at the head of an army of seven hundred thousand men, Grant, announcing that his headquarters would be in the field, "at once planned two movements, to be directed simultaneously against vital points of the

Confederacy." One of these, with Richmond for its point of attack, he commanded in person; the other, against Atlanta, in Georgia, was headed by General Sherman.

On the 3d of May, Grant began the movement against Richmond, crossing the Rapidan, and pushing determinedly into the "Wilderness," where, met by Lee, a bloody battle was fought, foiling his first attempt to place himself between the Confederate Army and their threatened capital. Advancing by the left flank, he was again confronted by Lee at Spottsylvania, and compelled to make another flank movement, resulting in his again being brought to a stand by his wary antagonist. Declaring his determination "to fight it out on this line if it took him all summer," Grant still pushed on by a series of flank movements, each culminating in a sanguinary battle, in which his losses were fearful, and finally, passing Richmond on the east, crossed the James, and laid siege to the city of Petersburg, the capture of which now became the great problem of the war.

Grant crossed the James on the 15th of June, 1864. It was not until the beginning of April, 1865, after a series of desperate assaults, coming to a crisis in the battle of Five Forks, in which Grant gained a crowning triumph, that Petersburg finally succumbed. The fall of Petersburg compelled Lee to evacuate Richmond with the

meagre remnant of his army. He retreated westward toward Danville, followed closely by Grant. At the same time Sherman, who had met with almost unparalleled success in his part of the concerted movement, was marching triumphantly through Alabama and Georgia to the sea-coast, along which he swept northward, and was threatening Lee from another quarter, so that, placed between two large armies, both flushed with victory, no other resource was left him than to surrender the thin remnant of his force. This he did, to Grant, at Appomattox Court-House, on the 9th of April, 1865, and the "Great Rebellion" was thus virtually brought to a close.

On the conclusion of the war, Grant made Washington his headquarters, and was, in July, 1866, commissioned General of the United States Army—a rank which had been specially created to do him honor. In August, 1867, he for awhile acted as Secretary of War *ad interim* under President Johnson; but, notwithstanding the latter's earnest request to the contrary, he, when the Senate refused to sanction Stanton's removal, restored the position to that gentleman, from whom it had been taken.

In the Republican National Convention, held at Chicago, on the 21st of May, 1868, General Grant was on the first ballot unanimously nominated as the candidate of that party for the Presidency. His Democratic competitor was Horatio Sey-

mour, of New York. The election resulted in Grant receiving two hundred and fourteen out of two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1869. Though brought into conflict with some of the prominent men of his party by his determined effort to bring about the annexation of San Domingo to the United States, President Grant's first official term gave satisfaction to the mass of his Republican adherents. During the first six months of his term the public debt was reduced some fifty millions of dollars, order and prosperity were rapidly restored throughout the Southern States, and the hatred and animosities of the war were greatly softened, though Grant's firmness in many instances had begotten severe opposition.

In their National Convention at Philadelphia, on the 5th of June, 1872, he was nominated by acclamation for a second term. His opponent in this contest was Horace Greeley, who was supported by both the Democrats and the so-called Liberal Republicans. The election resulted in the success of General Grant, who received two hundred and sixty-eight out of the three hundred and forty-eight electoral votes cast. He was inaugurated a second time on the 4th of March, 1873.

Grant's second term was one of improving prospects, though the transitions from the excessive inflations attendant on the war to the solid

business basis of peace made financial affairs unsteady and led to the famous panic of '73. But prosperity returned gradually and on a more solid basis, and the great Centennial Exposition of 1876, at Philadelphia, was a fitting crown upon the final year of Grant's eight years of Presidential work and honor. In his last message to Congress he urged compulsory common-school education where other means of education are not provided; the exclusion of all sectarianism from public schools; the prohibition of voting, after 1890, to all persons unable to read and write; the permanent separation of Church and State; entire religious freedom for all sects, and legislation to speedily secure a return to sound currency.

General Grant was strongly urged to accept the nomination for a third term, but declined the honor and retired to private life, March 4th, 1877. After his long-continued public service, an extended trip abroad was deemed desirable by the General. Arrangements were matured accordingly, and on May 17th, 1877, he sailed from Philadelphia in the steamer Indiana. His journey was prosperous in every respect. He made the tour of the world and reached San Francisco September 20th, 1879. Everywhere he was the recipient of the highest honors. The most distinguished crowned heads and military leaders of all nations were proud to do him honor, and he in return did many personal friendly offices which were most

gratefully recognized. He finally settled in New York city, where fatal sickness overtook him, and he died July 23d, 1885.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, the nineteenth incumbent of the Presidential chair, was born at Delaware, Ohio, October 4th, 1822. He enjoyed the most favorable surroundings of refinement and culture in his youth, and graduated at Kenyon College in 1842. In 1845, he graduated from the Harvard Law School and began practice in Fremont, Ohio, from which place he removed to Cincinnati in 1849. He served as City Solicitor for several years, until the breaking out of the war, when he took the field as major of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers. He had a splendid record, rising to the command of a division, being breveted major-general, and continuing until June 1st, 1865, when he resigned his rank and returned to Cincinnati.

In December, 1865, he entered Congress, to which he had been elected before he left the army. He was re-elected to this position, but resigned to become Governor of Ohio, to which office he was three times chosen, an honor never before conferred in that State. The prominent issues in his last campaign for the Governorship were the

currency and the school questions. So satisfactory were his views on these measures, that he received much favorable mention for nomination in the Presidential campaign then approaching.

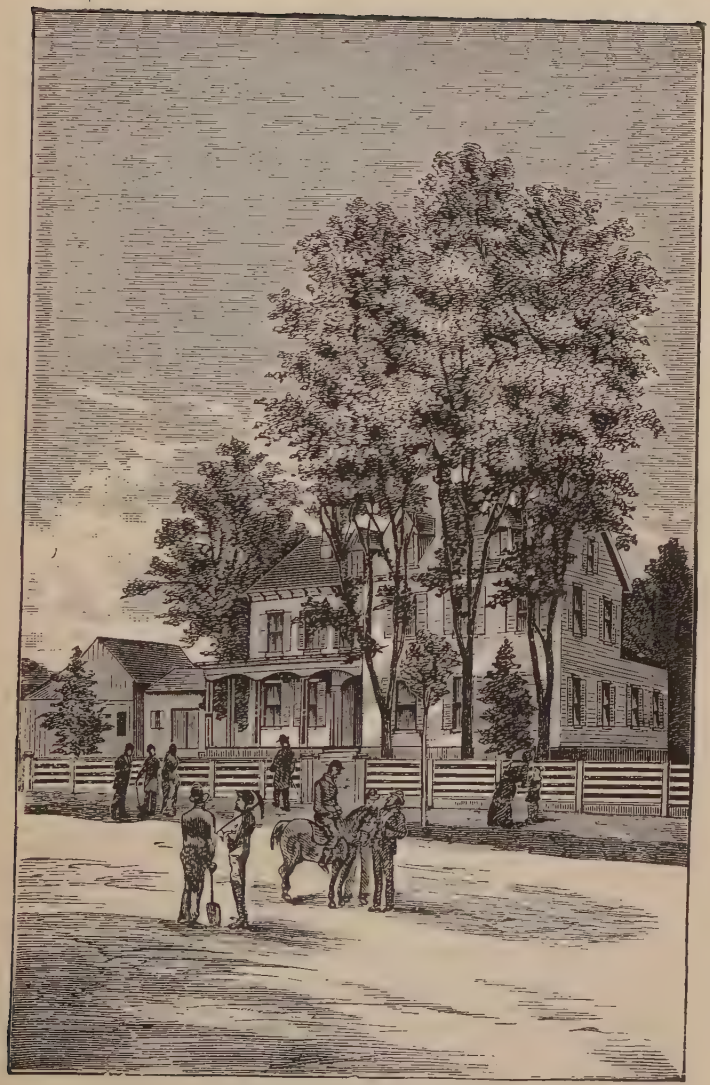
On June 16th, 1876, the Republican Convention met at Cincinnati, and on the seventh ballot Hayes received the nomination over James G. Blaine and Benjamin H. Bristow. Hayes received three hundred and eighty-four votes, Blaine three hundred and fifty-one, and Bristow twenty-one. The contest was bitter in the Convention and in the succeeding canvass, and its close was a disputed election, the electoral votes of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana being claimed by both parties, as was one electoral vote of Oregon also. The contest was finally referred to an Electoral Commission, which decided by a vote of eight to seven that Hayes was elected, and he, accordingly, succeeded General Grant in the office on March 4th, 1877, the inauguration occurring on the next day, Monday, March 5th. The great feature of this Administration was the full resumption of specie payments, a success achieved without jar or confusion of any kind in the business of the country.

At the close of his term, March 4th, 1881, Mr. Hayes turned over the Administration to his successor amid peace and prosperity such as the nation seldom enjoyed, and returned to his home in Ohio, where he still lives (July, 1884), respected and beloved by all his fellow-citizens.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

THE nation's choice for the twenty-fourth Presidential term, James Abram Garfield, was born November 19th, 1831, at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. His ancestors were early immigrants of New England, and they bore noble part in all the hardships and sufferings of the Revolutionary and earlier periods. His parents were Abram and Eliza Garfield, his father dying when James was but a child, and his mother surviving to see his exaltation to the Presidency and his untimely end.

James Garfield's early life was one filled with the struggles incident to poverty on the frontier settlements. On the farm, on the canal, and at the carpenter's bench, he toiled energetically, reading and studying all the while, that he might fit himself for college. He finally betook himself to teaching as a means of subsistence, and while so engaged pressed his own education diligently. He decided to enter Williams College, Mass., which he did, in June, 1854, in a class nearly two years advanced. He had saved some money, but he worked during his vacations and at spare moments, and so was enabled to complete his course, though somewhat in debt, graduating August, 1856. While yet a student, he became much interested in politics and made some speeches on his favorite views.



GEN. GARFIELD'S HOME, MENTOR, OHIO.

After his graduation, he entered Hiram College, Ohio, as a teacher of ancient languages and literature, and soon after became its President. Meanwhile, he was active in a wide variety of good works, preaching, addressing temperance meetings, making political speeches, and at the same time pursuing the study of the law. In 1858, he married Lucretia Rudolph, who had been a fellow-student with him in his academic schooldays.

As a logical and effective political speaker, Garfield soon became prominent, and in 1859 was elected to the Senate of his native State, where he immediately took high rank, although he still continued to be much engaged in literary and religious work. In August, 1861, he solemnly considered the question of entering the army, and wrote his conclusion thus: "I regard my life as given to my country. I am only anxious to make as much of it as possible before the mortgage on it is foreclosed."

As a soldier, Garfield was thorough, brave, and efficient. He had a large share of hard fighting in the West and the Southwest, but he won high praise in it all, rising from the rank of lieutenant-colonel to that of brigadier-general and chief of staff to General Rosecrans, in which capacity he served until the battle of Chickamauga had been fought, when he was promoted to a major-generalship for "gallant and meritorious conduct" on that bloody field.

Just before this battle, Garfield had been chosen by his fellow-citizens in Ohio as their representative in Congress. To accept this post was deemed his duty by all his friends and advisers, so he resigned his commission on the 5th of December, 1863, and took his place in Congress at less than half the salary drawn by one of his military rank. In this new position he exercised the same earnest conscientiousness he had ever shown. He was a master workman in every line of duty there for seventeen years, during which period he left the imprint of his ability and patriotism as thoroughly upon the legislation of the country as any one man in public service. He certainly realized the meaning of the title, "a public benefactor," as defined in his own speech made on December 10th, 1878, in which he said: "The man who wants to serve his country must put himself in the line of its leading thought, and that is the restoration of business, trade, commerce, industry, sound political economy, hard money, and the payment of all obligations, and the man who can add anything in the direction of accomplishing any of these purposes is a public benefactor."

No man with such an ideal could fail to at once take high rank. Nor did Garfield fail to do so. At the outset he was recognized as a leader, and his influence grew with his service. He was at once appointed on the Military Committee, under the chairmanship of General Schenck and the col-

leagueship of Farnsworth, both fresh from the field. In this work he was of great service—just as Rosecrans anticipated he would be. His thorough knowledge of the wants of the army was of the first value in all legislation pertaining to military matters. He was appointed chairman of a select committee of seven appointed to investigate the alleged frauds in the money-printing bureau of the Treasury, and on other very important and complicated matters he rendered service of the greatest value.

He did most excellent work, as an orator, on many momentous questions, as the following partial list of his published Congressional speeches will show: "Free Commerce between the States;" "National Bureau of Education;" "The Public Debt and Specie Payments;" "Taxation of United States Bonds;" "Ninth Census;" "Public Expenditures and Civil Service;" "The Tariff;" "Currency and the Banks;" "Debate on the Currency Bill;" "On the McGarrahan Claim;" "The Right to Originate Revenue Bills;" "Public Expenditures;" "National Aid to Education;" "The Currency;" "Revenues and Expenditures;" "Currency and the Public Faith;" "Appropriations;" "Counting the Electoral Vote;" "Repeal of the Resumption Law;" "The New Scheme of American Finance;" "The Tariff;" "Suspension and Resumption of Specie Payments;" "Relation of the National Government to Science;" "Sugar Tariff."

It was a surprise to nobody, but a real pleasure to multitudes, when at Chicago, on June 8th, 1880, James A. Garfield received the nomination for the Presidency by three hundred and ninety-nine votes in a total of seven hundred and fifty-five. This was upon the thirty-sixth ballot of the nominating Convention, but not until then had Garfield been prominently brought forward. His nomination was at once made unanimous in the Convention, and hailed with joy throughout the land. His chief opponent was the superb soldier, Major-General Winfield S. Hancock, but Garfield and Arthur received two hundred and fourteen of three hundred and sixty-nine electoral votes and secured the highest offices in the gift of the nation.

Garfield was inaugurated amid general satisfaction throughout the nation. His venerable mother saw her son's exaltation on that memorable Inauguration Day, and received from him, as the newly made President, his kiss of filial love. Every department of the public service felt the force of the new regime, and prosperity beamed on every side until the fatal Saturday, July 2d, 1881, when the assassin's bullet cut short the era of joy and hopefulness which had just fairly dawned. After weeks of patient suffering he died at Elberon, N. J., September 29, 1881.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

THE exodus from foreign lands to this country has at all times since the early years of the present century been remarkable for its steadiness—though varying during the decades. A home in freedom and a chance for a fortune in climes where centuries have not bound with iron every man's position is always an incentive to brave spirits.

Among those who took the tide in its flow, at the beginning of the twenties, was a young Protestant Irishman from Ballymena, County Antrim, who bore the name of William Arthur. He was eighteen years of age, a graduate of Belfast College, and thoroughly imbued with the intention of becoming a Baptist clergyman. In this he persevered, was admitted to the ministry, took a degree of D.D., and followed a career of great usefulness, which did not terminate until he died, at Newtonville, near Albany, October 27th, 1875. He was in many respects a remarkable man. He acquired a wide fame in his chosen career, and entered successfully the great competition of authors. He published a work on *Family Names* that is to-day regarded as one of the curiosities of English erudite literature.

He married, not long after entering the ministry, an American, Malvina Stone, who bore him

a family of two sons and five daughters. Of these, Chester Allan, the subject of this sketch, was born at Fairfield, Franklin County, Vermont, October 5th, 1830. From his home studies he went to a wider field of instruction in the institutions of Schenectady, in the grammar school of which place he was prepared for entering Union College. This he did at the age of fifteen (1845), and took successfully the regular course, excelling in all his studies and graduating very high in the class of 1848.

On graduating he entered the law school at Ballston Springs. By rigid economy and hard work, he had managed to save five hundred dollars, and with this in his pocket he went to New York, and entered the law office of Erastus D. Culver, afterward minister to one of the South American States and a judge of the Civil Court of Brooklyn. Soon after entering Judge Culver's office, he was—in 1852—admitted to the bar, and formed the firm of Culver, Partsen & Arthur, which was dissolved in 1837. No sooner had he won his title to appear in the courts, than he formed a partnership with an old friend, Henry D. Gardner, with an intention of practicing in the West, and for three months these young gentlemen roamed through the Western States in search of a place to locate. In the end, not satisfied, they returned to New York and began practice.

The law career of Mr. Arthur includes some notable cases. One of his first cases was the cele-

brated Lemmon suit. In 1852, Jonathan and Juliet Lemmon, Virginia slaveholders, intending to emigrate to Texas, went to New York to await the sailing of a steamer, bringing eight slaves with them. A writ of habeas corpus was obtained from Judge Paine to test the question whether the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law were in force in that State. Judge Paine rendered a decision holding that they were not, and ordering the Lemmon slaves to be liberated. Henry L. Clinton was one of the counsel for the slaveholders. A howl of rage went up from the South, and the Virginia Legislature authorized the Attorney-General of that State to assist in taking an appeal. William M. Evarts and Chester A. Arthur were employed to represent the people, and they won their case, which then went to the Supreme Court of the United States. Charles O'Conor here espoused the cause of the slaveholders, but he, too, was beaten by Messrs. Evarts and Arthur, and a long step was thus taken toward the emancipation of the black race.

Mr. Arthur always took an interest in politics and the political surroundings of his day. His political life began at the age of fourteen, as a champion of the Whig party. He shared, too, in the turbulence of political life at that period, and it is related of him during the Polk-Clay canvass that, while he and some of his companions were raising an ash pole in honor of Henry Clay, some

Democratic boys attacked the party of Whigs, and young Arthur, who was the recognized leader of the party, ordered a charge, and, taking the front ranks himself, drove the young Democrats from the field with broken heads and subdued spirits. He was a delegate to the Saratoga Convention that founded the Republican party in New York State. He was active in local politics, and he gradually became one of the leaders. He nominated, and by his efforts elected, the Hon. Thomas Murphy a State Senator. When the latter resigned the Collectorship of the Port, in November, 1871, Arthur was appointed by President Grant to fill the vacancy.

He was nominated for the Vice-Presidency at Chicago on the evening of Tuesday, June 10th. He was heartily indorsed by the popular and electoral vote, and on the death of President Garfield, September 19th, 1881, he assumed the Presidential chair. His Administration was uneventful, but was attended with general peace and prosperity. He died November 18th, 1886.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Grover Cleveland, the twenty-second President of the United States, was born at Caldwell, Essex county, N. J., March 18, 1837. His father,

Rev. Richard F. Cleveland, a Presbyterian minister, removed in 1841 to New York State, and in 1853 had settled at Holland Patent, not far from Utica, but died a few months later. Grover on his father's death became an assistant teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind. A year later he was received into the home of his uncle, William F. Allen, a prosperous citizen of Buffalo.

Admitted to the bar in 1859, he was made assistant district attorney for Erie county in 1863. He was elected sheriff in 1870 and Mayor of Buffalo in 1881. His administration was marked by the reform of various municipal abuses and secured for him the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1882. The result of Republican dissension was seen in the triumphant election of Cleveland by the unprecedented majority of 192,000.

His administration was made conspicuous by his liberal use of the veto power, especially in regard to the expenditure of public money. In 1884 the Democratic National Convention chose him as its standard-bearer, with Thomas A. Hendricks as his associate. The contest was marked with disgraceful personalities, but was eventually decided in the city of New York, whose vote sufficed to decide the election in Cleveland's favor by a small majority. He was inaugurated March 4, 1885.

It is a matter of dispute how far President Cleveland has carried out his pledges of Civil Service Reform. There is no dispute that he has pressed strongly for the reduction of the Tariff as the most effective means of diminishing the surplus in the national treasury.

For more than a year after his entrance to the White House his sister, Miss Rose E. Cleveland, was the hostess of that mansion. But on June 2, 1886, President Cleveland was married there to Miss Frances Folsom, the daughter of his former law partner, Oscar Folsom. Mrs. Cleveland has obtained a high place in the regard of the American people.

Early in June, 1888, President Cleveland was unanimously renominated by acclamation in the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis. Allen G. Thurman was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

THE

CITIZEN'S HANDBOOK

OF

VALUABLE FACTS FOR CAMPAIGN WORK.

(543)

"In order to have any success in life, or any worthy success, you must resolve to carry into your work a fullness of Knowledge—not merely a Sufficiency, but more than a Sufficiency."

James A. Garfield.

THE WHITE HOUSE.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTESTS.

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and Jackson were chosen to the Presidency without the machinery of either State or National Conventions for their nomination.

WASHINGTON was chosen by common consent and demand, receiving the unanimous electoral vote, sixty-nine, ten States only voting, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island not having adopted the Constitution or framed election laws, and four qualified delegates being absent. At his second election he received all the votes but three, viz.: one hundred and thirty-two out of one hundred and thirty-five, fifteen States voting. In 1789, eleven other persons were voted for on the same ballots with Washington, he who received the next highest vote to be the Vice-President, as was the rule until 1804. John Adams was thus chosen by thirty-four votes over the following competitors: John Jay, R. H. Harrison, John Rutledge, John Hancock, George Clinton, Samuel Huntingdon, John Milton, James Armstrong, Benjamin Lincoln, and Edward Telfair. In 1792, John Adams was again chosen Vice-President, by seventy-seven out of one hundred and thirty-two votes, over George Clinton, Thomas Jefferson, and Aaron Burr. Adams represented the Federalist or Administration party of the day, the opposition being then known as the Republican party.

ADAMS, having twice held the Vice-Presidency, was thought to have a claim on the higher position, and in 1796, sixteen States voting, he received seventy-one electoral votes, Jefferson receiving sixty-eight, and becoming Vice-President over Thomas Pinckney, Aaron Burr, Samuel Adams, Oliver Ellsworth, George Clinton, John Jay, James Iredell, George Washington, John Henry, S. Johnson, and Charles C. Pinckney, for each of whom from one to fifty-nine electoral votes

were cast. The successful candidates represented the two parties of the day. In 1800, the parties in Congress each held a caucus and each nominated its own candidates.

JEFFERSON was chosen President in 1800, on the thirty-sixth ballot of the House of Representatives, he and Aaron Burr having a tie vote of seventy-three in the Electoral College, sixteen States voting. Burr then became Vice-President over John Adams, Charles C. Pinckney, and John Jay, who represented the Federalists. In 1803, the Constitution was amended prescribing the present method of choosing the nation's chief officers. After this for a long period the Republican party and its successor, the Democratic party, had things as they pleased. In 1804, Jefferson was re-elected over Charles C. Pinckney by one hundred and sixty-two votes to fourteen, George Clinton becoming Vice-President over Rufus King. This was a result of the Congressional caucus. Seventeen States voted.

MADISON, the nominee of the Republican caucus, received one hundred and twenty-two electoral votes in 1808, seventeen States voting, his opponent, Charles C. Pinckney, receiving but fourteen, and George Clinton, another candidate, receiving none. Clinton received one hundred and thirteen votes for the Vice-Presidency, however, and was chosen over Rufus King, John Langdon, James Madison, and James Monroe.

In 1812, Madison received one hundred and twenty-eight electoral votes out of two hundred and eighteen, eighteen States voting, De Witt Clinton receiving eighty-nine votes. Elbridge Gerry was chosen to the second place by one hundred and thirty-one votes, Jared Ingersoll receiving eighty-six.

MONROE was twice lifted into power by the caucus, receiving one hundred and eighty-three votes to thirty-four for Rufus King, in 1816, and two hundred and thirty-one to one only for John Quincy Adams, in 1820, nineteen States voting in the first election and twenty-four in the second. D. D. Tompkins received one hundred and eighty-three votes for

Vice-President in 1816, and two hundred and eighteen in 1820, his competitors in the first race being John E. Howard, James Ross, John Marshall, and Robert G. Harper, and in the second Richard Stockton, Daniel Rodney, Robert G. Harper, and Richard Rush. At the end of Monroe's term parties began to break up and new combinations to form under lead of the State Legislatures, several of which brought out their favorite sons.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was the Coalition nominee of Massachusetts in 1824. Jackson was put forward by Tennessee, as were William H. Crawford and Henry Clay by their respective States; twenty-four States voted in this contest, having two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes, of which Jackson received ninety-nine, and Adams eighty-four, the remainder being divided among the other two candidates. No choice being made, the House of Representatives settled the contest, giving Adams thirteen States, Jackson seven States, and Crawford four States. Jackson's popular vote was one hundred and fifty-five thousand eight hundred and seventy-two; that of Adams, one hundred and five thousand three hundred and twenty-one, while Crawford and Clay together polled ninety thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine. A tempest of ill-feeling was begotten by this decision. John C. Calhoun was chosen Vice-President, however, receiving one hundred and eighty-two votes, his opponents being Nathan Sanford, Nathaniel Macon, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and Henry Clay.

JACKSON was so enraged by his defeat that he left the Senate and threw all his tremendous energy into the campaign of 1828, he being the leader of the newly formed Democratic party. Twenty-four States voted, with two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes, of which Jackson secured one hundred and seventy-eight, to eighty-three for Adams, and a popular vote of six hundred and forty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one, to five hundred and nine thousand and ninety-seven for Adams. Calhoun again became Vice-President by one hundred and seventy-one votes, Richard

Rush and William Smith being his vanquished rivals. In 1832, Jackson again swept the board, receiving two hundred and nineteen electoral votes and six hundred and eighty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one popular votes, Henry Clay, the National Republican candidate, receiving forty-nine electoral votes, and five hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and eighty-nine popular votes. John Floyd and William Wirt received some thirty-three thousand votes from the people and eighteen from the electors. Martin Van Buren became Vice-President in Jackson's second term, receiving one hundred and eighty-nine votes, his competitors being John Sergeant, Henry Lee, Amos Ellmaker, and William Wilkins.

The Convention system was born under Jackson's Administration. Its object was to prevent defeat by scattered votes in the same party The anti-Masonic party held the first gathering of the sort, William Wirt being its nominee. The National Republicans followed in 1831, the Democrats in 1832. This machinery bore its first fruits in Jackson's second Presidential campaign. The Whig party made its first appearance in 1836, but its counsels were divided and it lost.

VAN BUREN was nominated by the Democrats, and in 1836, twenty-six States voting, he received one hundred and seventy electoral votes, four Whig candidates, William H. Harrison, Hugh L. White, Daniel Webster, and W. P. Mangum dividing among themselves eleven electoral votes. Van Buren's popular vote was seven hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred and forty-nine; that of all others, seven hundred and thirty-six thousand six hundred and fifty-six. R. M. Johnson, who received one hundred and seventy electoral votes for Vice-President, not receiving a majority of all, was elected by the Senate. His competitors were Francis Granger, John Tyler, and William Smith.

HARRISON, in 1840, received a popular vote of one million two hundred and seventy-five thousand and seventeen, and an electoral vote of two hundred and thirty-four, as did John

Tyler, his associate on the Whig ticket. He was opposed by Van Buren, who polled one million one hundred and twenty-eight thousand seven hundred and two popular votes, and sixty of the electoral college, and by James G. Birney, of the Liberty or Abolition party, who polled seven thousand and fifty-nine votes. R. M. Johnson, L. W. Tazewell, and James K. Polk were candidates for the Vice-Presidency, receiving in all sixty electoral votes. Twenty-six States voted. Harrison's election was the first Whig success, and the campaign preceding it has been aptly termed "the great national frolic."

POLK was chosen President in 1844 over Birney, the Abolitionist, and Clay, the Whig, receiving a popular vote of one million three hundred and thirty-seven thousand two hundred and forty-three, and an electoral vote of one hundred and seventy, to Clay's one million two hundred and ninety-nine thousand and sixty-eight popular and one hundred and five electoral, Birney's vote being sixty-two thousand three hundred popular and none electoral. For Vice-President George M. Dallas received the same electoral vote as Polk, and Theodore Frelinghuysen the same as Clay.

TAYLOR was chosen by the Whigs in 1848, Clay and Webster being abandoned. He and his associate, Millard Fillmore, received each one hundred and sixty-three electoral votes and a popular vote of one million three hundred and sixty thousand one hundred and one. Lewis Cass, the Democratic nominee, and Wm. O. Butler, his associate, were regarded as a weak combination, but they polled one million two hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and forty-four votes, with one hundred and twenty-seven electors. Van Buren ran on the Free Soil ticket with Charles Francis Adams, and received two hundred and ninety-one thousand two hundred and sixty-three votes, thirty States voting. Taylor died, and Fillmore quarreled with his party, thus impairing its strength sadly.

PIERCE rode into power over the fragments of the Whig party, he and his associate, William R. King, receiving two

hundred and fifty-four electoral and one million six hundred and one thousand four hundred and seventy-four popular votes. Winfield Scott and William A. Graham, the Whig nominees, received forty-two electoral and one million three hundred and eighty-six thousand five hundred and seventy-eight popular votes, John P. Hale and George W. Julian, Free Democrats, polling one hundred and fifty-six thousand one hundred and forty-nine suffrages. This contest ended the Whig party. Thirty-one States voted.

BUCHANAN was chosen in 1856 by one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes, John C. Breckenridge being his associate, they receiving a popular vote of one million eight hundred and thirty-eight thousand one hundred and sixty-nine, John C. Fremont and Wm. L. Dayton, nominees of the newly-formed Republican party, receiving one hundred and fourteen electoral and one million three hundred and forty-one thousand two hundred and sixty-four popular votes, while Millard Fillmore and A. J. Donelson, of the American party, had eight electoral and eight hundred and seventy-four thousand five hundred and thirty-four popular votes. This was a most bitter campaign, saturated with all the issues of slavery, disunion, and border ruffianism.

LINCOLN was elected in 1860 by a popular vote of one million eight hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and fifty-two, and an electoral vote of one hundred and eighty, Hannibal Hamlin being his associate. This was the first victory for the Republicans. Democrats, Constitutional Unionists, and Independent Democrats voted respectively for Breckenridge and Lane, Bell and Everett, and Douglas and Johnson, who received electoral votes as follows: Breckenridge, seventy-two; Bell, thirty-nine; Douglas, twelve; and popular votes: Breckenridge, eight hundred and forty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-three; Bell, five hundred and eighty-nine thousand five hundred and eighty-one; and Douglas, one million three hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and fifty-seven. Thirty-

three States engaged in this contest, of which Lincoln carried seventeen, Breckenridge eleven, Bell three, and Douglas two. Lincoln's second election, Andrew Johnson being his associate, was by two hundred and twelve electoral and two million two hundred and sixteen thousand and sixty-seven popular votes, George B. McClellan and G. H. Pendleton receiving twenty-one electoral and one million eight hundred and eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-five popular votes. Eleven States and eighty-one electors were not represented in this election. Of twenty-five voting States Lincoln carried all but three.

GRANT was chosen in 1872 over Horatio Seymour by two hundred and fourteen votes of the Electoral College to eighty, twenty-three electors, three States, not represented. Schuyler Colfax and Frank P Blair, Jr., were the respective Vice-Presidential nominees. The popular vote was three million fifteen thousand and seventy-one, for Grant, to two million seven hundred and nine thousand six hundred and thirteen for Seymour. At the election of 1872 Grant had a long line of competitors, but he polled three million five hundred and ninety-seven thousand and seventy popular votes, and two hundred and eighty-six electoral out of a possible three hundred and sixty-six. All the States voted. His competitors on various tickets were Horace Greeley, Charles O'Conor, James Black, Thos. A. Hendricks, Charles J. Jenkins, and David Davis. Henry Wilson was chosen Vice-President, over B. Gratz Brown, Geo. W. Julian, A. H. Colquitt, John M. Palmer, T. E. Bramlette, W. S. Groesbeck, Willis B. Machen, and N. P. Banks.

HAYES was elected, with his associate, Wm. A. Wheeler, in a scattering contest. His popular vote was four million thirty-three thousand nine hundred and fifty. Samuel J. Tilden, (Democrat) received four million two hundred and eighty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty-five votes. Peter Cooper, (Greenback) eighty-one thousand seven hundred and forty. Green Clay Smith (Prohibition), nine thousand five hundred and twenty-two, and two thousand six hundred and

thirty-six were scattering. T. A. Hendricks was Mr. Tilden's associate. The disputed vote was settled by an Electoral Commission which awarded Hayes one hundred and eighty-five electoral votes and Tilden one hundred and eighty-four.

GARFIELD received, in 1880, a popular vote of four million four hundred and forty-nine thousand and fifty-three, and an electoral vote of two hundred and fourteen, together with Chester A. Arthur, his associate. Winfield S. Hancock and William H. English received four million four hundred and forty-two thousand and thirty-five popular, and one hundred and fifty-five electoral votes. The Greenback candidates, James B. Weaver and B. J. Chambers, received three hundred and seven thousand three hundred and six votes, and twelve thousand five hundred and seventy-six were reported as scattering. Thus the Republicans held the Presidency from Lincoln's election in 1860.

CLEVELAND received a popular vote of four million nine hundred and eleven thousand and seventeen, with an electoral vote of two hundred and nineteen, a majority of thirty-seven electoral votes over his chief competitor, James G. Blaine. The Prohibition candidate, John P. St. John, received about one hundred and fifty-two thousand votes, while the Greenback candidate, Benjamin F. Butler, received about one hundred and thirty-four thousand votes. Thomas A. Hendricks, chosen Vice-President with Mr. Cleveland, died November 25th, 1885.

TABLES OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

SUMMARY OF POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1789–1876.

Year of Election.	No. of States.	Total Elec. V.	Political Party.	* Presidents. Candidates.	Vote. States.	Popular.	Electoral	* Vice-Presidents. Candidates.	Elect. Vote.
1789	†10	73	.....	George Washington	..	....	69	.....	...
			.....	John Adams.....	..	.....	...	.....	34
			.....	John Jay...	..	.....	.	.. ..	9
			.....	R. H. Harrison.....	..	.....	...	.....	6
			.....	John Rutledge.....	..	.....	.	.....	6
			.....	John Hancock.....	..	.....	...	.....	4
			.....	George Clinton.	..	.....	...	.....	3
			.....	Samuel Huntingdon	..	.....	...	.....	2
			.....	John Milton.....	..	... .	...	.....	2
			.....	James Armstrong..	..	.....	...	.....	1
			.....	Benjamin Lincoln..	..	.....	..	....	1
			... .	Edward Telfair. ..	..	.....	..	.....	1
				Vacancies.....	..	.....	4	.....	4
1792	15	135	Federalist..	George Washington	..	.....	132	.....	...
			Federalist..	John Adams.....	..	....	...	.....	77
			Republican	George Clinton....	..	... .	...	....	50
			.....	Thomas Jefferson..	..	.....	...	....	4
			.....	Aaron Burr.....	..	.....	...	.....	1
				Vacancies.....	..	.....	3	.....	3
1796	16	138	Federalist..	John Adams	..	.....	71	....	...
			Republican	Thomas Jefferson..	..	.....	..	.....	68
			Federalist..	Thomas Pinckney..	..	.....	..	....	59
			Republican	Aaron Burr.	..	....	...	....	30
			.....	Samuel Adams.....	..	....	..	.....	15
			.....	Oliver Ellsworth ..	..	.....	...	.....	11
			.....	George Clinton.....	..	.....	...	.....	7
			.....	John Jay.....	..	.....	...	....	5
			... .	James Iredell.....	..	.....	...	.....	3
			.....	George Washington	..	.....	...	....	2
			....	John Henry.... ..	..	.....	...	....	2
			.....	S. Johnson	..	.....	...	.....	2
			.....	Charles C. Pinckney	..	..... .	...	.....	1
1800	16	138	Republican	Thomas Jefferson..	..	.....	‡73	....	...
			Republican	Aaron Burr	..	.....	...	....	‡73
			Federalist..	John Adams.....	..	.....	...	.....	65
			Federalist..	Charles C. Pinckney	..	.....	...	....	64
			.....	John Jay.....	..	.....	...	.....	1

* Previous to the election of 1804 each elector voted for two candidates for President; the one receiving the highest number of votes, if a majority, was declared elected President; and the next highest Vice-President.

† Three States out of thirteen did not vote, viz.: New York, which had not passed an electoral law; and North Carolina and Rhode Island, which had not adopted the Constitution.

‡ There having been a tie vote, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. A choice was made on the 36th ballot, which was as follows: Jefferson—Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia—10 States; Burr—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island—4 States; Blank—Delaware and South Carolina—2 States.

Year of Election.	No. of States.	Total Elec. V.	Political Party.	Presidents. Candidates.	Vote. States.	Vote. Popular.	Vote. Electoral	Vice-Presidents. Candidates.	Elect. Vote.
1804	17	176	Republican	Thomas Jefferson..	15	.....	162	George Clinton..	162
			Federalist..	Charles C. Pinckney	2	.....	14	Rufus King.....	14
1808	17	176	Republican	James Madison. ..	12	.....	122	George Clinton..	113
			Federalist..	Charles C. Pinckney	5	.....	47	Rufus King.....	47
			.....	George Clinton.....	..	.....	6	John Langdon..	9
			.....	....	..	.....	...	James Madison.	3
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	James Monroe..	3
				Vacancy	..	.....	1	.....	1
1812	18	218	Republican.	James Madison....	11	.....	128	Elbridge Gerry..	131
			Federalist..	De Witt Clinton....	7	.....	89	Jared Ingersoll..	86
			.....	Vacancy	..	.....	1	....	1
1816	19	221	Republican.	James Monroe.....	16	.....	185	D. D. Tompkins.	183
			Federalist..	Rufus King.....	3	.....	34	John E. Howard	22
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	James Ross.....	5
			.....	... .	..	.....	...	John Marshall..	4
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Robt. G. Harper.	3
				Vacancies	..	.....	4	.....	4
1820	24	235	Republican	James Monroe.....	24	.....	231	D. D. Tompkins.	218
			Opposition.	John Q. Adams....	..	.. ..	1	Rich. Stockton..	8
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Daniel Rodney.	4
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Robt. G. Harper	1
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Richard Rush...	1
				Vacancies.....	.	.....	3	... .	3
1824	24	261	Republican.	Andrew Jackson...	10	155,872	*99	John C. Calhoun	182
			Coalition..	John Q. Adams....	8	105,321	84	Nathan Sanford.	30
			Republican.	Wm. H. Crawford..	3	44,282	41	Nathaniel Macon	24
			Republican.	Henry Clay.....	3	46,587	37	Andrew Jackson	13
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	M. Van Buren...	9
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	Henry Clay.....	2
				Vacancy	..	....	..	.....	1
1828	24	261	Democratic	Andrew Jackson...	15	647,231	178	John C. Calhoun	171
			Nat. Repub.	John Q. Adams	9	509,097	83	Richard Rush...	83
			.....	....	..	.....	...	William Smith..	7
1832	24	288	Democratic	Andrew Jackson...	15	687,502	219	M. Van Buren...	189
			Nat. Repub.	Henry Clay.....	7	530,189	49	John Sergeant...	49
			.....	John Floyd.....	1	33,108	11	Henry Lee.....	11
			Anti-Mason	William Wirt....	1		7	Amos Ellmaker.	7
			.....	....	..	.....	..	William Wilkins	30
				Vacancies.....	..	.....	2	.. ..	2
1836	26	294	Democratic.	Martin Van Buren.	15	761,549	170	R. M. Johnson†	147
			Whig	Wm. H. Harrison	7		73	Francis Granger.	77
			Whig.....	Hugh L. White..	2	736,656	26	John Tyler.....	47
			Whig... ...	Daniel Webster..	1		14	William Smith..	23
			Whig.....	W. P. Mangum...	1		11	.....	...

* No choice having been made by the Electoral College, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. A choice was made on the first ballot, which was as follows: Adams—Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont—13 States; Jackson—Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee—7 States; Crawford—Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia—4 States.

† No candidate having received a majority of the votes of the Electoral College, the Senate elected R. M. Johnson Vice-President, who received 33 votes; Francis Granger received 16.

Year of Election.	No. of States.	Total Elec. V.	Political Party.	Presidents. Candidates.	Vote. States.	Vote. Popular.	Vote. Electoral	Vice-Presidents. Candidates.	Elect. Vote.
1840	26	294	Whig	Wm. H. Harrison.	19	1,275,017	234	John Tyler	234
			Democratic	Martin Van Buren.	7	1,128,702	60	R. M. Johnson	48
			Liberty	James G. Birney	..	7,059	...	.....	...
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	L. W. Tazewell.	11
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	James K. Polk	1
1844	26	275	Democratic	James K. Polk	15	1,337,243	170	Geo. M. Dallas	170
			Whig	Henry Clay	11	1,299,068	105	T. Frelinghuysen	105
			Liberty	James G. Birney	..	62,300	...	.....	...
1848	30	290	Whig	Zachary Taylor	15	1,360,101	163	Millard Fillmore	163
			Democratic	Lewis Cass	15	1,220,544	127	Wm. O. Butler	127
			Free Soil	Martin Van Buren.	..	291,263	...	Chas. F. Adams.	...
1852	31	296	Democratic	Franklin Pierce	27	1,601,474	254	Wm. R. King	254
			Whig	Winfield Scott	4	1,386,578	42	Wm. A. Graham	42
			Free Dem.	John P. Hale	..	156,149	...	Geo. W. Julian.	...
1856	31	296	Democratic	James Buchanan	19	1,838,169	174	J. C. Breckinr'ge	174
			Republican.	John C. Fremont.	11	1,341,264	114	Wm. L. Dayton.	114
			American	Millard Fillmore	1	874,534	8	A. J. Donelson	8
1860	33	303	Republican.	Abraham Lincoln.	17	1,866,352	180	Hannibal Hamlin	180
			Democratic.	J. C. Breckinridge.	11	845,763	72	Joseph Lane	72
			Cons. Union	John Bell	3	589,581	39	Edward Everett.	39
			Ind. Dem.	S. A. Douglas	2	1,375,157	12	H. V. Johnson	12
1864	*36	314	Republican.	Abraham Lincoln.	22	2,216,067	212	Andrew Johnson	212
			Democratic	Geo. B. McClellan.	3	1,808,725	21	G. H. Pendleton.	21
				Vacancies	11	.....	81	.....	81
1868	†37	317	Republican.	Ulysses S. Grant	26	3,015,071	214	Schuyler Colfax	214
			Democratic.	Horatio Seymour	8	2,709,613	80	F. P. Blair, Jr.	80
				Vacancies	3	.....	23	.....	23
1872	37	366	Republican.	Ulysses S. Grant	31	3,597,070	286	Henry Wilson	286
			Dem. & Lib.	Horace Greeley	6	2,834,079	...	B. Gratz Brown.	47
			Democratic.	Charles O'Conor	..	29,408	...	Geo. W. Julian.	5
			Temp'rance	James Black	..	5,608	...	A. H. Colquitt	5
			.....	Thos. A. Hendricks	..	.....	42	John M. Palmer.	3
			.....	B. Gratz Brown	..	.....	18	T. E. Bramlette.	3
			.....	Charles J Jenkins.	..	.....	2	W. S. Groesbeck	1
			.....	David Davis	..	.....	1	Willis B. Machen	1
			.....	.....	..	.....	...	N. P. Banks	1
				‡ Not Counted	..	.....	17	.....	14
1876	38	369	Republican.	Rutherford B. Hayes	21	4,033,950	185	Wm. A. Wheeler	185
			Democratic.	Samuel J. Tilden	17	4,284,885	184	T. A. Hendricks	184
			Greenback	Peter Cooper	..	81,740	...	.....	...
			Prohibition	Green Clay Smith	..	9,522	...	.....	...
			.....	Scattering	..	2,636	...	.....	...
1880	38	369	Republican	James A. Garfield	19	4,449,053	214	Chester A. Arthur	214
			Democratic.	Winfield S. Hancock	19	4,442,035	155	Wm. H. English	155
			Greenback	James B. Weaver	....	307,306	....	B. J. Chambers	....
			.....	Scattering	....	12,576	....	.....	....

* Eleven States did not vote, viz.: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

† Three States did not vote, viz.: Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

‡ Three electoral votes of Georgia cast for Horace Greeley, and the votes of Arkansas, 6 and Louisiana, 8, cast for U. S. Grant, were rejected. If all had been included in the count the electoral vote would have been 300 for U. S. Grant, and 66 for opposing candidates.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

The Presidential election will take place on Tuesday, November 4th, 1884. The Constitution prescribes that each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress. For the election this year the electors by States will be as follows:

States.	Electoral Vote.	States.	Electoral Vote.
Alabama	10	Missouri	16
Arkansas	7	Nebraska	5
California	8	Nevada	3
Colorado	3	New Hampshire	4
Connecticut	6	New Jersey	9
Delaware	3	New York	36
Florida	4	North Carolina	11
Georgia	12	Ohio	23
Illinois	22	Oregon	3
Indiana	15	Pennsylvania	30
Iowa	13	Rhode Island	4
Kansas	9	South Carolina	9
Kentucky	13	Tennessee	12
Louisiana	8	Texas	13
Maine	6	Vermont	4
Maryland	8	Virginia	12
Massachusetts	14	West Virginia	6
Michigan	13	Wisconsin	11
Minnesota	7		
Mississippi	9	Total	401

Necessary to a choice, 201.

No Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, shall be an elector. In all the States, the laws thereof direct that the people shall choose the electors. The Constitution declares that the day when electors are chosen shall be the same throughout the United States. The electors shall meet in their respective States on the first Wednesday in December, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State as themselves.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTERS.

States.	Age.	Requirement as to Citizenship.	Residence in		Registration.
			State.	County.	
Alabama	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	3 mo	No law.
Arkansas	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr	6 mo	Prohibited.
California	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90ds	Required
Colorado	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	.....	Required.
Connecticut	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo	Required.
Delaware	21	Actual County taxpayers	1 yr.	1 mo	Not required.
Florida	21	United States citizens or declared intention	1 yr.	6 mo	Required.
Georgia	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo	No law.
Illinois	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90ds	Required.
Indiana	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	60ds	No law.
Iowa	21	Actual citizens	6 mo	60ds	Required.
Kansas	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	.....	Req'd in cities
Kentucky	21	Free white male citizens	2 yrs	1 yr.	Not required.
Louisiana	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	6 mo	No law.
Maine	21	Actual citizens	3 mo	.....	Required.
Maryland	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo	Required.
Massachusetts	21	Citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
Michigan	21	Citizens or declared intention.	3 mo	.....	Required.
Minnesota	21	Citizens or declared intention.	4 mo	.....	Required.
Mississippi	21	Actual citizens	6 mo	1 mo	Required.
Missouri	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	60ds	Req'd in cities
Nebraska	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	.....	Required.
Nevada	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	30ds	Required.
N. Hampshire	21	Actual citizens	.....	5 mo	Required.
New Jersey	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	4 mo	Req'd in cities
New York	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90ds	Req'd in cities
N. Carolina	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
Ohio	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Not required.
Oregon	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo		
Pennsylvania	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
Rhode Island	21	Actual tax-paying citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
S. Carolina	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	60ds	Required.
Tennessee	21	Actual citizens.	1 yr.	6 mo	Not required.
Texas	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	6 mo	Prohibited.
Vermont	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
Virginia	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	.....	Required.
W. Virginia	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	60ds	Prohibited.
Wisconsin	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	.....	Required.

Note.—In several States women are permitted to vote on the school questions, selection of directors, etc.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Presidential Term.	Name.	Qualified.	Born.	Died.
1	George Washington.	April 30, 1789	Feb. 22, 1732	Dec. 14, 1799
2	George Washington..	March 4, 1793		
3	John Adams.....	March 4, 1797	Oct. 19 1735,	July 4, 1826
4	Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1801	April 2, 1743	July 4, 1826
5	Thomas Jefferson.....	March 4, 1805		
6	James Madison.....	March 4, 1809	March 5, 1751	June 28, 1836
7	James Madison.....	March 4, 1813		
8	James Monroe..	March 4, 1817	April 28, 1758	July 4, 1831
9	James Monroe	March 5, 1821		
10	John Quincy Adams.	March 4, 1825	July 11, 1767	Feb. 23, 1848
11	Andrew Jackson.....	March 4, 1829	Mar. 15, 1767	June 8, 1 45
12	Andrew Jackson.....	March 4, 1833		
13	Martin Van Buren...	March 4, 1837	Dec. 5, 1782	July 24, 1862
14	Wm. H. Harrison.*	March 4, 1841	Feb. 9, 1773	April 4, 1841
	John Tyler.....	April 6, 1841	Mar. 29, 1790	Jan. 17, 1862
15	James K. Polk.....	March 4, 1845	Nov. 2, 1795	June 15, 1849
16	Zachary Taylor*.....	March 5, 1849	Nov. 24, 1784	July 9, 1850
	Millard Fillmore.....	July 9, 1850	Jan. 7, 1800	
17	Franklin Pierce.	March 4, 1853	Nov. 23, 1804	Oct. 8 1869
18	James Buchanan.....	March 4, 1857	April 22, 1791	June 1, 1868
19	Abraham Lincoln....	March 4, 1861	Feb. 12, 1809	April 15, 1865
20	Abraham Lincoln *..	March 4, 1865		
	Andrew Johnson	April 15, 1865	Dec. 29, 1808	July 30, 1875
21	Ulysses S. Grant	March 4, 1869	April 27, 1822	
22	Ulysses S. Grant.....	March 4, 1873		
23	Rutherford B. Hayes	March 5, 1877	Oct. 4, 1822	
24	James A. Garfield*...	March 4, 1881	Nov. 19, 1831	Sept. 19, 1881
	Chester A. Arthur ...	Sept'r 20, 1881	Oct. 5, 1830	

Total number of incumbents, 21. * Died in office.

HOMES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

	Native State.	Whence Elected.
Washington	Virginia	Virginia.
Adams	Massachusetts	Massachusetts.
Jefferson	Virginia	Virginia.
Madison	"	"
Monroe	"	"
Adams, J. Quincy	Massachusetts	Massachusetts.
Jackson	North Carolina	Tennessee.
Van Buren	New York	New York.
Harrison	Virginia	Ohio.
Tyler	"	Virginia.
Polk	North Carolina	Tennessee.
Taylor	Virginia	Louisiana.
Fillmore	New York	New York
Pierce	New Hampshire	New Hampshire.
Buchanan	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania.
Lincoln	Kentucky	Illinois.
Johnson	North Carolina	Tennessee.
Grant	Ohio	Illinois.
Hayes	"	Ohio.
Garfield	"	"
Arthur	New York	New York.

VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Vice-Pres. Term.	Name.	Qualified.	Born.	Died.
1	John Adams	June 3, 1789	1735	1826
2	John Adams	Dec. 2, 1793		
3	Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1797	1743	1826
4	Aaron Burr	March 4, 1801	1756	1836
5	George Clinton	March 4, 1805	1739	1812
6	George Clinton*	March 4, 1809		
	William H. Crawford†	April 10, 1812	1772	1834
7	Elbridge Gerry*	March 4, 1813	1744	1814
	John Gaillard*	Nov. 25, 1814		1826
8	Daniel D. Tompkins	March 4, 1817	1744	1825
9	Daniel D. Tompkins	March 5, 1821		
10	John C. Calhoun	March 4, 1825	1782	1850
11	John C Calhoun‡	March 4, 1829		
	Hugh L. White†	Dec. 28, 1832	1773	1840
12	Martin Van Buren	March 4, 1833	1782	1862
13	Richard M. Johnson	March 4, 1837	1780	1850
14	John Tyler§	March 4, 1841	1790	1862
	Samuel L. Southard†	April 6, 1841	1787	1842
	Willie P. Mangum†	May 31, 1842	1792	1861
15	George M. Dallas	March 4, 1845	1792	1864
16	Millard Fillmore§	March 5 1849	1800	1869
	William R. King†	July 11, 1850	1786	1853
17	William R. King*	March 4, 1853		
	David R. Atchison†	April 18, 1853	1807	
	Jesse D. Bright †	Dec. 5, 1854	1812	
18	John C. Breckenridge	March 4, 1857	1821	1875
19	Hannibal Hamlin	March 4, 1861	1809	
20	Andrew Johnson§	March 4, 1865	1808	1875
	Lafayette S. Foster†	April 15, 1865	1806	
	Benjamin F. Wade†	March 2, 1867	1800	
21	Schuyler Colfax	March 4, 1869	1823	
22	Henry Wilson*	March 4, 1873	1812	1875
	Thomas W. Ferry †	Nov. 22, 1875	1827	
23	William A. Wheeler	March 5, 1877	1819	
24	Chester A. Arthur §	March 4, 1881	1830	
	David Davis †	Oct. 13, 1881	1815	
	George F. Edmunds†	March 3, 1883	1828	

* Died in office. † Acting Vice-President and President *pro tem.* of the Senate.
‡ Resigned the Vice-Presidency. § Became President.

CABINETS OF THE PRESIDENTS.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: April 30, 1789—March 4, 1797 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	Thomas Jefferson,	appointed Sept. 26, 1789	
" "	Edmund Randolph,	"	Jan. 2, 1794
" "	Timothy Pickering,	"	Dec. 10, 1795

Secretary of Treasury:	Alexander Hamilton,	appointed	Sept. 11, 1789
" "	Oliver Wolcott,	"	Feb. 2, 1795
" *War:*	Henry Knox,	"	Sept. 12, 1789
" "	Timothy Pickering,	"	Jan. 2, 1795
" "	James McHenry,	"	Jan. 27, 1796
Postmaster General:	Samuel Osgood,	"	Sept. 26, 1789
" "	Timothy Pickering,	"	Aug. 12, 1791
" "	Joseph Habersham,	"	Feb. 25, 1795
Attorney-General:	Edmund Randolph,	"	Sept. 26, 1789
" "	William Bradford,	"	Jan. 27, 1794
" "	Charles Lee,	"	Dec. 10, 1795

JOHN ADAMS: March 4, 1797—March 4, 1801 (one term).

Secretary of State:	Timothy Pickering,	appointed	March 4, 1797
" "	John Marshall,	"	May 13, 1800
" *Treasury:*	Oliver Wolcott,	"	March 4, 1797
" "	Samuel Dexter,	"	Jan. 1, 1801
" *War:*	James McHenry,	"	March 4, 1797
" "	Samuel Dexter,	"	May 13, 1800
" "	Rodger Griswold,	"	Feb. 3, 1801
" *Navy:*	Benjamin Stoddart,	"	May 21, 1798
Postmaster-General:	Joseph Habersham,	"	March 4, 1797
Attorney-General:	Charles Lee,	"	March 4, 1797
" "	Theophilus Parsons,	"	Feb. 20, 1801

THOMAS JEFFERSON: March 4, 1801—March 4, 1809 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	James Madison,	appointed	March 5, 1801
" *Treasury:*	Albert Gallatin,	"	May 14, 1801
" *War:*	Henry Dearborn,	"	March 5, 1801
" *Navy:*	Benjamin Stoddert,	"	March 4, 1801
" "	Robert Smith,	"	July 15, 1801
" "	J. Crowninshield,	"	March 3, 1805
Postmaster-General:	Joseph Habersham,	"	March 4, 1801
" "	Gideon Granger,	"	Nov. 28, 1801
Attorney-General:	Levi Lincoln,	"	March 5, 1801
" "	Robert Smith,	"	March 3, 1805
" "	John Breckinridge,	"	Aug. 7, 1805
" "	Cæsar A. Rodney,	"	Jan. 28, 1807

JAMES MADISON: March 4, 1809—March 4, 1817 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	Robert Smith,	appointed	March 6, 1809
" "	James Monroe,	"	April 2, 1811
" *Treasury:*	Albert Gallatin,	"	March 4, 1809
" "	George W. Campbell,	"	Feb. 9, 1814
" "	Alexander J. Dallas,	"	Oct. 6, 1814
" "	William H. Crawford,	"	Oct. 22, 1816
" *War:*	William Eustis,	"	March 7, 1809
" "	John Armstrong,	"	Jan. 13, 1813
" "	James Monroe,	"	Sept. 27, 1814
" "	William H. Crawford,	"	Aug. 1, 1815
" *Navy:*	Paul Hamilton,	"	March 7, 1809
" "	William Jones,	"	Jan. 12, 1813
" "	B. W. Crowninshield,	"	Dec. 19, 1814

STATE, WAR, AND NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Postmaster-General:	Gideon Granger,	appointed	March 4, 1809
" "	Return J. Meigs, Jr.,	"	March 17, 1814
Attorney-General:	Cæsar A. Rodney,	"	March 4, 1809
" "	William Pinkney,	"	Dec. 11, 1811
" "	Richard Rush,	"	Feb. 10, 1814

JAMES MONROE: March 4, 1817—March 4, 1825 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	John Quincy Adams,	appointed	March 5, 1817
" *Treasury*	William H. Crawford,	"	March 5, 1817
" *War:*	George Graham,	"	*ad interim.*
" "	John C. Calhoun,	"	Oct. 8, 1817
" *Navy:*	B. W. Crowninshield,	"	March 4, 1817
" "	Smith Thompson,	"	Nov. 9, 1818
" "	Samuel L. Southard,	"	Sept. 16, 1823
Postmaster-General:	Return J. Meigs, Jr.,	"	March 4, 1817
" "	John McLean,	"	June 26, 1823
Attorney-General:	Richard Rush,	"	March 4, 1817
" "	William Wirt,	"	Nov. 13, 1817

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS: March 4, 1825—March 4, 1829 (one term).

Secretary of State:	Henry Clay,	appointed	March 7, 1825
" *Treasury:*	Richard Rush,	"	March 7, 1825
" *War:*	James Barbour,	"	March 7, 1825
" "	Peter B. Porter,	"	May 26, 1828
" *Navy:*	Samuel L. Southard,	"	March 4, 1825
Postmaster-General:	John McLean,	"	March 4, 1825
Attorney-General:	William Wirt,	"	March 4, 1825

ANDREW JACKSON: March 4, 1829—March 4, 1837 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	Martin Van Buren,	appointed	March 6, 1829
" "	Edward Livingston,	"	May 24, 1831
" "	Louis McLane,	"	May 29, 1833
" "	John Forsyth,	"	June 27, 1834
" *Treasury:*	Samuel D. Ingham,	"	March 6, 1829
" "	Louis McLane,	"	Aug. 2, 1831
" "	William J. Duane,	"	May 29, 1833
" "	Roger B. Taney,	"	Sept. 23, 1833
" "	Levi Woodbury,	"	June 27, 1834
" *War:*	John H. Eaton,	"	March 9, 1829
" "	Lewis Cass,	"	Aug. 1, 1831
" *Navy:*	John Branch,	"	March 9, 1829
" "	Levi Woodbury,	"	May 23, 1831
" "	Mahlon Dickerson,	"	June 30, 1834
Postmaster-General:	William T. Barry,	"	March 9, 1829
" "	Amos Kendall,	"	May 1, 1835
Attorney-General:	John M. Berrien,	"	March 9, 1829
" "	Roger B. Taney,	"	July 20, 1831
" "	Benjamin F. Butler,	"	Nov. 15, 1833

MARTIN VAN BUREN: March 4, 1837—March 4, 1841 (one term).

Secretary of State:	John Forsyth,	appointed	March 4, 1837
" *Treasury:*	Levi Woodbury,	"	March 4, 1837
" *War:*	Joel R. Poinsett,	"	March 7, 1837

Secretary of Navy:	Mahlon Dickerson,	appointed	March 4, 1837
" "	James K. Paulding,	"	June 25, 1838
Postmaster-General:	Amos Kendal,	"	March 4, 1837
" "	John M. Niles,	"	May 25, 1840
Attorney-General:	Benjamin F. Butler,	"	March 4, 1837
" "	Felix Grundy,	"	July 5, 1838
" "	Henry D. Gilpin,	"	Jan. 11, 1840

WILLIAM H. HARRISON: March 4, 1841—April 6, 1841 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	Daniel Webster,	appointed	March 5, 1841
" *Treasury:*	Thomas Ewing,	"	March 5, 1841
" *War:*	John Bell,	"	March 5, 1841
" *Navy:*	George E. Badger,	"	March 5, 1841
Postmaster-General:	Francis Granger,	"	March 6, 1841
Attorney-General:	John J. Crittenden,	"	March 5, 1841

JOHN TYLER: April 6, 1841—March 4, 1845 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	Daniel Webster,	appointed	April 6, 1841
" "	Hugh S. Legare,	"	May 9, 1843
" "	Abel P. Upshur,	"	July 24, 1843
" "	John C. Calhoun,	"	March 6, 1844
" *Treasury:*	Thomas Ewing,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	Walter Forward,	"	Sept. 13, 1841
" "	John C. Spencer,	"	March 3, 1843
" "	George M. Bibb,	"	June 15, 1844
" *War:*	John Bell,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	John C. Spencer,	"	Oct. 12, 1841
" "	James M. Porter,	"	March 8, 1843
" "	William Wilkins,	"	June 15, 1844
" *Navy:*	George E. Badger,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	Abel P. Upshur,	"	Sept. 13, 1841
" "	David Henshaw,	"	July 24, 1843
" "	Thomas W. Gilmer,	"	Feb. 15, 1844
" "	John Y. Mason,	"	March 14, 1844
Postmaster-General:	Francis Granger,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	Charles A. Wickliffe,	"	Sept. 13, 1841
Attorney-General:	John J. Crittenden,	"	April 6, 1841
" "	Hugh S. Legare,	"	Sept. 13, 1841
" "	John Nelson,	"	July 1, 1843

JAMES K. POLK: March 4, 1845—March 5, 1849 (one term).

Secretary of State:	James Buchanan,	appointed	March 6, 1845
" *Treasury:*	Robert J. Walker,	"	March 6, 1845
" *War:*	William L. Marcy,	"	March 6, 1845
" *Navy:*	George Bancroft,	"	March 10, 1845
" "	John Y. Mason,	"	Sept. 9, 1846
Postmaster-General:	Cave Johnson,	"	March 6, 1845
Attorney-General:	John Y. Mason,	"	March 6, 1845
" "	Nathan Clifford,	"	Oct. 17, 1846
" "	Isaac Toucey,	"	June 21, 1848

ZACHARY TAYLOR: March 5, 1849—July 9, 1850 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	John M. Clayton,	appointed	March 7, 1849
" *Treasury:*	William M. Meredith,	"	March 8, 1849
" *War:*	George W. Crawford,	"	March 8, 1849
" *Navy:*	William B. Preston,	"	March 8, 1849
" *Interior:*	Thomas Ewing,	"	March 8, 1849
Postmaster-General:	Jacob Collamer,	"	March 8, 1849
Attorney-General:	Reverdy Johnson,	"	March 8, 1849

MILLARD FILLMORE: July 9, 1850—March 4, 1853 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	Daniel Webster,	appointed	July 22, 1850
" "	Edward Everett,	"	Nov. 6, 1852
" *Treasury:*	Thomas Corwin,	"	July 23, 1850
" *War:*	Charles M. Conrad,	"	Aug. 15, 1850
" *Navy:*	William A. Graham,	"	July 22, 1850
" "	John P. Kennedy,	"	July 22, 1852
" *Interior:*	Alex. H. H. Stuart,	"	Sept. 12, 1850
Postmaster-General:	Nathan K. Hall,	"	July 23, 1850
" "	Samuel D. Hubbard,	"	Aug. 31, 1852
Attorney-General:	John J. Crittenden,	"	July 22, 1850

FRANKLIN PIERCE: March 4, 1853—March 4, 1857 (one term).

Secretary of State:	William L. Marcy,	appointed	March 7, 1853
" *Treasury:*	James Guthrie,	"	March 7, 1853
" *War:*	Jefferson Davis,	"	March 5, 1853
" *Navy:*	James C. Dobbin,	"	March 7, 1853
" *Interior:*	Robert McClelland,	"	March 7, 1853
Postmaster-General:	James Campbell,	"	March 5, 1853
Attorney-General:	Caleb Cushing,	"	March 7, 1853

JAMES BUCHANAN: March 4, 1857—March 4, 1861 (one term).

Secretary of State:	Lewis Cass,	appointed	March 6, 1857
" "	Jeremiah S. Black,	"	Dec. 17, 1860
" *Treasury:*	Howell Cobb,	"	March 6, 1857
" "	Philip F. Thomas,	"	Dec. 12, 1860
" "	John A. Dix,	"	Jan. 11, 1861
" *War:*	John B. Floyd,	"	March 6, 1857
" "	Joseph Holt,	"	Jan. 18, 1861
" *Navy:*	Isaac Toucey,	"	March 6, 1857
" *Interior:*	Jacob Thompson,	"	March 6, 1857
Postmaster-General:	Aaron V. Brown,	"	March 6, 1857
" "	Joseph Holt,	"	March 14, 1859
" "	Horatio King,	"	Feb. 12, 1861
Attorney-General:	Jeremiah S. Black,	"	March 6, 1857
" "	Edwin M. Stanton,	"	Dec. 20, 1860

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: March 4, 1861—April 15, 1865 (one term and a part).

Secretary of State:	William H. Seward,	appointed	March 5, 1861
" *Treasury:*	Salmon P. Chase,	"	March 7, 1861

Secretary of Treasury:	William P. Fessenden,	appointed	July 1, 1864
" "	Hugh McCulloch,	"	March 7, 1865
" *War:*	Simon Cameron,	"	March 5, 1861
" "	Edwin M. Stanton,	"	Jan. 15, 1862
" *Navy:*	Gideon Welles,	"	March 5, 1861
" *Interior:*	Caleb B. Smith,	"	March 5, 1861
" "	John P. Usher,	"	Jan. 8, 1863
Postmaster-General:	Montgomery Blair,	"	March 5, 1861
" "	William Dennison,	"	Sept. 24, 1864
Attorney-General:	Edward Bates,	"	March 5, 1861
" "	Titian J. Coffey, *ad int.*,	"	June 22, 1863
" "	James Speed,	"	Dec. 2, 1864

ANDREW JOHNSON: April 15, 1865—March 4, 1869 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	William H. Seward,	appointed	April 15, 1865
" "	Elihu B. Washburne,	"	March 5, 1869
" *Treasury:*	Hugh McCulloch,	"	April 15, 1865
" *War:*	Edwin M. Stanton,	"	April 15, 1865
" "	Ulysses S. Grant, *ad int.*,	"	Aug. 12, 1868
" "	Lorenzo Thomas,	"	Feb. 21, 1868
" "	John M. Schofield,	"	May 28, 1868
" *Navy:*	Gideon Welles,	"	April 15, 1865
" *Interior:*	John P. Usher,	"	April 15, 1865
" "	James Harlan,	"	May 15, 1865
" "	Orville H. Browning,	"	July 27, 1866
Postmaster-General:	William Dennison,	"	April 15, 1865
" "	Alexander W. Randall,	"	July 25, 1866
Attorney-General:	James Speed,	"	April 15, 1865
" "	Henry Stanbery,	"	July 23, 1866
" "	William M. Evarts,	"	July 15, 1868

ULYSSES S. GRANT: March 4, 1869—March 5, 1877 (two terms).

Secretary of State:	Hamilton Fish,	appointed	March 11, 1869
" *Treasury:*	George S. Boutwell,	"	March 11, 1869
" "	William A. Richardson,	"	March 17, 1873
" "	Benjamin H. Bristow,	"	June 4, 1874
" "	Lot M. Morrill,	"	July 7, 1876
" *War:*	John A. Rawlins,	"	March 11, 1869
" "	William W. Belknap,	"	Oct. 25, 1869
" "	Alphonso Taft,	"	March 8, 1876
" "	James D. Cameron,	"	May 22, 1876
" *Navy:*	Adolph E. Borie,	"	March 5, 1869
" "	George M. Robeson,	"	June 25, 1869
" *Interior:*	Jacob D. Cox,	"	March 5, 1869
" "	Columbus Delano,	"	Nov. 1, 1870
" "	Zachariah Chandler,	"	Oct. 19, 1875
Postmaster-General:	John A. J. Creswell,	"	March 5, 1869
" "	Marshall Jewell,	"	Aug. 24, 1874
" "	James N. Tyner,	"	July 12, 1876
Attorney-General:	E. Rockwood Hoar,	"	March 5, 1869
" "	Amos T. Akerman,	"	June 23, 1870
" "	George H. Williams,	"	Dec. 14, 1871
" "	Edwards Pierrepont,	"	April 26, 1875
" "	Alphonso Taft,	"	May 29, 1876

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES: March 5, 1877—March 4, 1881 (one term).

Secretary of State:	William M. Evarts,	appointed	March 12, 1877
" *Treasury:*	John Sherman,	"	March 8, 1877
" *War:*	George W. McCrary,	"	March 12, 1877
" "	Alexander Ramsey,	"	Dec. 10, 1879
" *Navy:*	Richard W. Thompson,	"	March 12, 1877
" "	Nathan Goff, Jr.,	"	Jan. 6, 1881
" *Interior:*	Carl Schurz,	"	March 12, 1877
Postmaster-General:	David McK. Key,	"	March 12, 1877
" "	Horace Maynard,	"	June 2, 1880
Attorney-General:	Charles Devens,	"	March 12, 1877

JAMES A. GARFIELD: March 4, 1881—September 19, 1881 (partial term).

Secretary of State:	James G. Blaine,	appointed	March 5, 1881
" *Treasury:*	William Windom,	"	March 5, 1881
" *War:*	Robert T. Lincoln,	"	March 5, 1881
" *Navy:*	William H. Hunt,	"	March 5, 1881
" *Interior:*	Samuel J. Kirkwood,	"	March 5, 1881
Postmaster-General:	Thomas L. James,	"	March 5, 1881
Attorney-General:	Wayne MacVeagh,	"	March 5, 1881

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, September 20, 1881———

Secretary of State:	F. T. Frelinghuysen,	appointed	Dec. 12, 1881
" *Treasury:*	Charles J. Folger,	"	Oct. 27, 1881
" *War:*	Robert T. Lincoln,	"	Sept. 20, 1881
" *Navy:*	William E. Chandler,	"	April 1, 1882
" *Interior:*	Henry M. Teller,	"	April 6, 1882
Postmaster-General:	Timothy O. Howe,	"	Dec. 20, 1881
Attorney-General:	Benjamin H. Brewster,	"	Dec. 19, 1881

COMMANDERS OF THE U. S. ARMY—1775-1884.

Major-General George Washington.....June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783.
Major-General Henry Knox.....December 23, 1783, to June 20, 1784.
Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmer, general-in-chief by brevet.....September, 1788, to March, 1791.
Major-General Arthur St. Clair.....March 4, 1791, to March, 1792.
Major-General Anthony Wayne.....April 11, 1792, to December 15, 1796.
Major-General James Wilkinson.....December 15, 1796, to July, 1798.
Lieutenant-General George Washington...July 3, 1798, to his death, December 14, 1799.
Major-General James Wilkinson..... .....June, 1800, to January, 1812.
Major-General Henry Dearborn.....January 27, 1812, to June, 1815.
Major-General Jacob Brown .....June, 1815, to February 21, 1828
Major-General Alexander Macomb.....May 24, 1828, to June, 1841.
Major-General Winfield Scott (brevet Lieutenant-General).....June, 1841, to November 1, 1861.
Major-General George B. McClellan.....November 1, 1861, to March 11, 1862.
Major-General Henry W. Halleck.....July 11, 1862, to March 12, 1864.
Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant.....March 12 1864, to July 25, 1866, and as General to March 4, 1869.
General William T. Sherman.....March 4, 1869, to November 1, 1883.
Lieutenant-General Philip H. Sheridan....November 1, 1883. To August 4, 1888.

CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE U. S. ARMY.

		Entered the Army.
Major-Generals	Winfield S. Hancock	1844
	John M. Schofield	1853
	John Pope	1842
Brigadier-Generals	Oliver O. Howard	1854
	Alfred H. Terry	1865
	Christopher C. Augur	1843
	George Crook	1852
	Nelson A. Miles	1866
	Ranold S. Mackenzie	1862

CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE U. S. NAVY.

Name.	Whence Appointed.	Original Entry into Service.	Rank.
David D. Porter	Penn.	1829	Admiral.
Stephen C. Rowan	Ohio	1826	Vice-Admiral.
John L. Worden	N. Y.	1834	Rear-Admirals.
Edward T. Nichols	Ga.	1836	
George H. Cooper	N. Y.	1837	
Aaron K. Hughes	N. Y.	1838	
Charles H. Baldwin	N. Y.	1839	
Robert W. Shufeldt	N. Y.	1839	
Thomas Pattison	N. Y.	1839	
Edward Simpson	N. Y.	1840	Commodores.
William G. Temple	Vt	1840	
Thomas S. Phelps	Maine	1840	
Clark H. Wells	Penn.	1840	
S. P. Quackenbush	N. Y.	1840	
Earl English	N. J.	1840	
John H. Upshur	D. C.	1841	
Francis A. Roe	N. Y.	1841	
Samuel R. Franklin	Penn.	1841	
Edward Y. McCauley	Penn.	1841	
J. C. P. de Krafft	Ill.	1841	
Oscar C. Badger	Penn.	1841	
Stephen B. Luce	N. Y.	1841	
John Lee Davis	Ind.	1841	
Alexander A. Semmes	Md.	1841	
William T. Truxtun	Penn.	1841	
Jonathan Young	Ill.	1841	
William K. Mayo	Va.	1841	
James E. Jowett	Ky.	1841	
T. Scott Fillebrown	Maine	1841	
Johnuss H. Rell	Md.	1841	

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.*

Name.	State.	Congress	Term of Service.
F. A. Muhlenberg	Pennsylvania	1st	April 1, 1789, to March 4, 1791
Jonathan Trumbull	Connecticut	2d	October 24, 1791, to March 4, 1793
F. A. Muhlenberg	Pennsylvania	3d	December 2, 1793, to March 4, 1795
Jonathan Dayton	New Jersey	4th	December 7, 1795, to March 4, 1797
" "	" "	5th	May 15, 1797, to March 3, 1799
Theodore Sedgwick	Massachusetts	6th	December 2, 1799, to March 4, 1801
Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina	7th	December 7, 1801, to March 4, 1803
" "	" "	8th	October 17, 1803, to March 4, 1805
" "	" "	9th	December 2, 1805, to March 4, 1807
Joseph B. Varnum	Massachusetts	10th	October 26, 1807, to March 4, 1809
" "	"	11th	May 22, 1809, to March 4, 1811
Henry Clay	Kentucky	12th	November 4, 1811, to March 4, 1813
" "	"	13th	May 24, 1813, to Jan'y 19, 1814
Langdon Cheves	South Carolina	13th	January 19, 1814, to March 4, 1815
Henry Clay	Kentucky	14th	December 4, 1815, to March 4, 1817
" "	"	15th	December 1, 1817, to March 4, 1819
" "	"	16th	December 6, 1819, to May 15, 1820
John W. Taylor	New York	16th	November 15, 1820, to March 4, 1821
Philip P. Barbour	Virginia	17th	December 4, 1821, to March 4, 1823
Henry Clay	Kentucky	18th	December 1, 1823, to March 4, 1825
John W. Taylor	New York	19th	December 5, 1825, to March 4, 1827
Andrew Stevenson	Virginia	20th	December 3, 1827, to March 4, 1829
" "	"	21st	December 7, 1829, to March 4, 1831
" "	"	22d	December 5, 1831, to March 4, 1833
" "	"	23d	December 2, 1833, to June 2, 1834
John Bell	Tennessee	23d	June 2, 1834, to March 4, 1835
James K. Polk	"	24th	December 7, 1835, to March 4, 1837
" "	"	25th	September 5, 1837, to March 4, 1839
Robert M. T. Hunter	Virginia	26th	December 16, 1839, to March 4, 1841
John White	Kentucky	27th	May 31, 1841, to March 4, 1843
John W. Jones	Virginia	28th	December 4, 1843, to March 4, 1845
John W. Davis	Indiana	29th	December 1, 1845, to March 4, 1847
Robert C. Winthrop	Massachusetts	30th	December 6, 1847, to March 4, 1849
Howell Cobb	Georgia	31st	December 22, 1849, to March 4, 1851
Linn Boyd	Kentucky	32d	December 1, 1851, to March 4, 1853
" "	"	33d	December 5, 1853, to March 4, 1855
Nathaniel P. Banks	Massachusetts	34th	February 2, 1856, to March 4, 1857
James L. Orr	South Carolina	35th	December 7, 1857, to March 4, 1859
Wm. Pennington	New Jersey	36th	February 1, 1860, to March 4, 1861
Galusha A. Grow	Pennsylvania	37th	July 4, 1861, to March 4, 1863
Schuyler Colfax	Indiana	38th	December 7, 1863, to March 4, 1865
" "	"	39th	December 4, 1865, to March 4, 1867
" "	"	40th	March 4, 1867, to March 4, 1869
James G. Blaine	Maine	41st	March 4, 1869, to March 4, 1871
" "	"	42d	March 4, 1871, to March 4, 1873
" "	"	43d	December 1, 1873, to March 4, 1875
Michael C. Kerr	Indiana	44th	December 6, 1875, to Aug. 20, 1876
Samuel J. Randall	Pennsylvania	44th	December 4, 1876, to March 4, 1877
" "	"	45th	October 15, 1877, to March 4, 1879
" "	"	46th	March 18, 1879, to March 4, 1881
J. Warren Keifer	Ohio	47th	December 5, 1881, to March 4, 1883
John G. Carlisle	Kentucky	48th	December 3, 1883, to

* Not including Speakers *pro tem.*

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STATES.

I. Ratio of Representatives and Population.

By Constitution, 1789 ..... One to 30,000.
" First Census, from March 4th, 1793 ..... " 33,000.
" Second " " " 1803 ..... " 33,000.
" Third " " " 1813 ..... " 35,000.

By Fourth Census, from March 4th, 1823.....One to 40,000.
" Fifth " " " 1833..... " 47,700.
" Sixth " " " 1843..... " 70,680.
" Seventh " " " 1853..... " 93,423.
" Eighth " " " 1863 ..... " 127,381.
" Ninth " " " 1873..... " 131,425.
" Tenth " " " 1883..... " 154,325.

II. REPRESENTATIVES FROM EACH STATE UNDER EACH CENSUS.

STATES.	Constitution, 1789.	1st census	2d census	3d census	4th census	5th census	6th census	7th census	8th census	9th census	10th census.
Connecticut	5	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	4	4	4
Delaware	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Georgia	3	2	4	6	7	9	8	8	7	9	10
Maryland	6	8	9	9	9	8	6	6	5	6	6
Massachusetts	8	14	17	20	13	12	10	11	10	11	12
New Hampshire	3	4	5	6	6	5	4	3	3	3	2
New Jersey	4	5	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	7	7
New York	6	10	17	27	34	40	34	33	31	33	34
North Carolina	5	10	12	13	13	13	9	8	7	8	9
Pennsylvania	8	13	18	23	26	28	24	25	24	27	28
Rhode Island	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
South Carolina	5	6	8	9	9	9	7	6	4	5	7
Virginia	10	19	22	23	22	21	15	13	11	9	10
Kentucky	..	2	6	10	12	13	10	10	9	10	11
Vermont	..	2	4	6	5	5	4	3	3	3	2
Tennessee	..	..	3	6	9	13	11	10	8	10	10
Ohio	..	..	..	6	14	19	21	21	19	20	21
Alabama	..	..	..	..	3	5	7	7	6	8	8
Illinois	..	..	..	..	1	3	7	9	14	19	20
Indiana	..	..	..	..	3	7	10	11	11	13	13
Louisiana	..	..	..	..	3	3	4	4	5	6	6
Maine	..	..	..	..	7	8	7	6	5	5	4
Mississippi	..	..	..	..	1	2	4	5	5	6	7
Missouri	..	..	..	..	1	2	5	7	9	13	14
Arkansas	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	4	5
Michigan	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	6	9	11
California	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	4	6
Florida	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	2
Iowa	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	9	11
Minnesota	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	3	5
Oregon	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1
Texas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	6	11
Wisconsin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	6	8	9
Kansas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	7
Nebraska	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	3
Nevada	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1
Colorado	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
West Virginia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4
Whole number	65	105	141	181	213	240	223	237	243	293	325

Chief Justices and Associate Justices of the U. S. Supreme Court.*	State Whence Appointed.	Term of Service.	Years of Service.
John Jay †	New York	1789-1795	6
John Rutledge †	South Carolina	1789-1791	2
William Cushing ‡	Massachussetts	1789-1810	21
James Wilson ‡	Pennsylvania	1789-1798	9
John Blair †	Virginia	1789-1796	7
Robert H. Harrison †	Maryland	1789-1790	1
James Iredell ‡	North Carolina	1790-1799	9
Thomas Johnson †	Maryland	1791-1793	2
William Patterson ‡	New Jersey	1793-1806	13
John Rutledge ‡	South Carolina	1795-1795	
Samuel Chase ‡	Maryland	1796-1811	15
Oliver Ellsworth †	Connecticut	1796-1801	5
Bushrod Washington ‡	Virginia	1798-1829	31
Alfred Moore †	North Carolina	1799-1804	5
John Marshall ‡	Virginia	1801-1835	34
William Johnson ‡	South Carolina	1804-1834	30
Brockholst Livingston ‡	New York	1806-1823	17
Thomas Todd ‡	Kentucky	1807-1826	19
Joseph Story ‡	Massachusetts	1811-1845	34
Gabriel Duval †	Maryland	1811-1836	25
Smith Thompson ‡	New York	1823-1845	22
Robert Trimble ‡	Kentucky	1826-1828	2
John McLean ‡	Ohio	1829-1861	32
Henry Baldwin ‡	Pennsylvania	1830-1846	16
James M. Wayne ‡	Georgia	1835-1867	32
Roger B. Taney ‡	Maryland	1836-1864	28
Philip P. Barbour ‡	Virginia	1836-1841	5
John Catron ‡	Tennessee	1837-1865	28
John McKinley ‡	Alabama	1837-1852	15
Peter V. Daniel ‡	Virginia	1841-1860	19
Samuel Nelson †	New York	1845-1872	27
Levi Woodbury ‡	New Hampshire	1845-1851	6
Robert C. Grier †	Pennsylvania	1846-1869	23
Benjamin R. Curtis †	Massachusetts	1851-1857	6
John A. Campbell †	Alabama	1853-1861	8
Nathan Clifford ‡	Maine	1858-1881	23
Noah H. Swayne †	Ohio	1861-1881	20
Samuel F. Miller	Iowa	1862-	
David Davis †	Illinois	1862-1877	15
Stephen J. Field	California	1863-	
Salmon P. Chase ‡	Ohio	1864-1873	9
William Strong †	Pennsylvania	1870-1880	10
Joseph P. Bradley	New Jersey	1870-	
Ward Hunt	New York	1872-1882	10
Morrison R. Waite	Ohio	1874-	
John M. Harlan	Kentucky	1877-	
William B. Woods	Georgia	1880-	
Stanley Matthews	Ohio	1881-	
Horace Gray	Massachusetts	1881-	
Samuel Blatchford	New York	1882-	

* Chief Justices in heavy type. † Resigned. ‡ Presided one term. ‡ Died in office.

WHERE OUR CHIEF OFFICERS CAME FROM.

From the beginning of the Government in 1789 to 1884.

States.	Presidents.	Vice-Presidents.	Secretaries of State.	Secretaries of Treasury.	Secretaries of War.	Secretaries of Navy.	Secretaries of Interior.	Postmasters-General.	Attorneys-General.	Supreme Court Justices.	Presidents *pro tem.* of Senate.	Speakers of House.	Total.
Alabama	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	2	2	....	5
Arkansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Colorado	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	....	.....	.....	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	3	1	15
Delaware	.....	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	4
Florida	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	.....	.....	1	2	2	.....	.....	1	2	2	3	1	14
Illinois	2	.....	1	.....	2	.....	1	...	.....	1	1	.....	8
Indiana	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	2	2	...	.....	1	3	11
Iowa	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	5
Kansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	.....	2	1	3	1	.....	.....	4	3	3	2	4	23
Louisiana	1	.....	1	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Maine	.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	1	8
Maryland	.....	.....	1	2	1	3	.....	2	5	5	2	.....	21
Massachusetts	2	3	3	3	4	5	.....	1	5	4	2	4	36
Michigan	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	6
Minnesota	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Mississippi	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4
Missouri	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	3
Nebraska	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire	1	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	1	3	.....	8
New Jersey	.....	.....	1	.....	...	3	...	.....	.....	2	1	2	9
New York	3	7	5	4	5	2	.....	4	3	6	1	1	41
North Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	2	3	1	10
Ohio	3	.....	.....	4	3	.....	3	3	3	5	1	1	26
Oregon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Pennsylvania	1	1	3	7	6	2	.....	2	6	4	3	3	38
Rhode Island	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2
South Carolina	.....	1	2	.....	2	1	.....	.....	1	2	3	2	14
Tennessee	3	1	.....	1	2	.....	.....	3	1	1	2	2	16
Texas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Vermont	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	3	.....	4
Virginia	5	2	6	.....	3	4	1	.....	4	5	6	4	40
West Virginia	.....	.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin	....	.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	3
Total	21	20	29	34	37	30	14	30	38	49	50	30	38

OUR REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD.

Country.	Name and Rank.	Residence.	Salary.
Argentine Republic	Thomas O. Osborn, Min. Res.	Buenos Ayres	$7,500
Austria-Hungary	Alphonso Taft,* E. E. and M. P.	Vienna	12,000
	Henry White, Sec. Leg., and C. G.	Vienna	3,500
Belgium	Nicholas Fish, Minister Res.	Brussels	7,500
Bolivia	Richard Gibbs, M. R. and C. G.	La Paz	5,000
Brazil	Thomas A. Osborne, E. E. and M. P.	Rio de Janeiro	12,000
	Charles B. Trail, Sec. Legation	Rio de Janeiro	1,800
Central American States	Henry C. Hall, E. E. and M. P.	Guatemala	10,000
Chili	C. A. Logan, E. E. and M. P.	Santiago	10,000
China	J. Russell Young, E. E. and M. P.	Peking	12,000
	Chester Holcombe, Sec. and Int.	Peking	5,000
Colombia	Wm. L. Scruggs, Minister Res.	Bogota	7,500
Corea	Lucius H. Foote, E. E. and M. P.	Seoul	5,000
Denmark	Wick'm Hoffman, M. R. and C. G.	Copenhagen	5,000
France	Levi P. Morton, E. E. and M. P.	Paris	17,500
	E. J. Brulatour, Sec. Legation	Paris	2,625
	Henri Vignaud, 2d Sec. Legation	Paris	2,000
Germany	Aaron A. Sargent, E. E. and M. P.	Berlin	17,500
	H. Sidney Everett, Sec. Legation	Berlin	2,625
	Chapman Coleman, 2d S. Legation	Berlin	2,000
Great Britain	James R. Lowell, E. E. and M. P.	London	17,500
	Wm. J. Hoppin, Sec. Legation	London	2,625
	E. S. Nadal, 2d Sec. Legation	London	2,000
Greece	Eugene Schuyler, M. R. and C. G.	Athens	6,500
Hawaiian Islands	Rollin M. Daggett, Min. Res.	Honolulu	7,500
Hayti	John M. Langston, M. R. and C. G.	Port au Prince	5,000
Italy	Wm. W. Astor, E. E. and M. P.	Rome	12,000
	Lewis Richmond, Sec. of Leg. and C. G.	Rome	3,500
Japan	John A. Bingham, E. E. and M. P.	Tokei (Yedo)	12,000
	Gustavus Goward, Sec. Legation	Tokei (Yedo)	2,500
	Willis N. Whitney, Interpreter	Tokei (Yedo)	2,500
Liberia	J. H. Smyth, M. R. and C. G.	Monrovia	5,000
Mexico	Philip H. Morgan, E. E. and M. P.	Mexico	12,000
	Henry H. Morgan, Sec. Legation	Mexico	1,800
Netherlands	Wm. L. Dayton, Minister Res.	The Hague	7,500
Paraguay and Uruguay	Wm. Williams, Charge d'Affaires	Montevideo	5,000
Persia	S. G. W. Benjamin, Min. Res. and Consul-General	Teheran	5,000
Peru	Seth S. Phelps, E. E. and M. P.	Lima	10,000
Portugal	John M. Francis, M. R. and C. G.	Lisbon	5,000
Roumania	Eugene Schuyler, M. R. and C. G.	Athens	6,500
Russia	George W. Wertz, Sec. Legation	St. Petersburg	17,500
		St. Petersburg	2,625
Servia	Eugene Schuyler, M. R. and C. G.	Athens	6,500
Siam	J. A. Halderman, M. R. and C. G.	Bangkok	5,000
Spain	John W. Foster, E. E. and M. P.	Madrid	12,000
	Dwight T. Reed, Sec. and C. G.	Madrid	3,000
Sweden and Norway	Wm. W. Thomas, Jr., Min. Res.	Stockholm	7,500
Switzerland	Michael J. Cramer, M. R. and C. G.	Berne	5,000
Turkey	Lewis Wallace, E. E. and M. P.	Constantinople	7,500
	G. Harris Heap, Sec. Leg. and C. G.	Constantinople	3,500
	A. A. Gargiulo, Interpreter	Constantinople	3,000
Venezuela	Jehu Baker, Minister Res.	Caracas	7,500

OUR REPRESENTATIVES FROM ABROAD

COUNTRY.	NAME.
Argentine Republic	Señor Don Louis L. Dominguez.*
	Señor Don Florencio L. Dominguez.†
Austria-Hungary	Baron Ignatz von Schaeffer (absent).*
	Count von Lippe Weissenfield.‡
Belgium	Mr. Bounder de Melsbroeck.*
	Count Gaston d'Arschot.‡
Brazil	Senhor J. G. do Amaral Valente.‡
Chili	Señor Don Joaquin Godoy.*
	Señor Don Federico Pinto.†
China	Mr. Cheng Tsao Ju.*
	Mr. Tsü Shau Pung.†
Denmark	Mr. Carl Steen Anderson de Billie.§
France	Mr. Theodore Roustan (absent).*
	Mr. Horace Denaut.‡
Germany	Captain C. von Eisendecker.*
	Count Lyden.†
Great Britain	The Honorable L. S. Sackville West.*
	Dudley E. Saurin, Esq.†
Hawaii	Mr. H. A. P. Carter.*
Hayti	Mr. Stephen Preston.*
	Mr. Charles A. Preston.†
Italy	Baron de Fava (absent).*
	Marquis A. Dalla Valle de Mirabello.‡
Japan	Joshü Terashima Munenori (absent).*
	Mr. Naito Ruijiro.†
Mexico	Señor Don Matias Romero (absent).*
	Señor Don Cayetano Romero.‡
Netherlands	Mr. G. de Weckherlin (absent).§
	Baron P. de Smeth Van Alphen ‡
Peru	Señor Don J. Federico Elmore.§
Portugal	Viscount das Nogueiras.*
Russia	Mr. Charles de Struve.*
	Mr. Grégoire de Willamov.†
Spain	Señor Don Juan Valera.*
	Señor Don Enrique Dupuy de Lome.‡
Sweden and Norway	Count Carl Lewenhaupt (absent).*
	Mr. C. de Bildt.‡
Switzerland	Colonel Emile Frey.*
	Major Karl Kloss.†
Turkey	Tewfik Pasha.*
	Rustem Effendi.†
Uruguay	Señor Don Enrique M. Estrazulas. ‡

* Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. † Secretary of Legation.
‡ Counselor and Charge d'Affaires. § Minister Resident and Consul General.

PAY OF THE CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE U. S. NAVY.

	At Sea.	On Shore Duty.	On Leave or Waiting Orders
Admiral	$13,000	$13,000	$13,000
Vice-Admiral	9,000	8,000	6,000
Rear-Admirals	6,000	5,000	4,000
Commodores	5,000	4,000	3,000
Captains	4,500	3,500	2,800
Commanders	3,500	3,000	2,300
Lieutenant-Commanders—			
First four years	2,800	2,400	2,000
After four years	3,000	2,600	2,200
Lieutenants—First five years	2,400	2,000	1,600
After five years	2,600	2,200	1,800
Masters—First five years	1,800	1,500	1,200
After five years	2,000	1,700	1,400
Ensigns—First five years	1,200	1,000	800
After five years	1,400	1,200	1,000
Midshipmen	1,000	800	600
Cadet Midshipmen	500	500	500
Mates	900	700	500
Medical and Pay Directors, Inspectors, and Chief Engineers	4,400		
Fleet Surgeons, Paymasters, and Engineers	4,400		
Surgeons, Paymasters, and Chief Engineers—			
First five years	2,800	2,400	2,000
Second five years	3,200	2,800	2,400
Third five years	3,500	3,200	2,600
Fourth five years	3,700	3,600	2,800
After twenty years	4,200	4,000	3,000
Passed Assistant Surgeons, Paymasters, and Engineers—First five years	2,000	1,800	1,500
After five years	2,200	2,000	1,700
Assistant Surgeons, Paymasters, and Engineers—			
First five years	1,700	1,400	1,000
After five years	1,900	1,600	1,200
Chaplains—First five years	2,500	2,000	1,000
After five years	2,800	2,300	1,900
Boatswains, Gunners, Carpenters, and Sailmakers—			
First three years	1,200	900	700
Second three years	1,300	1,000	800
Third three years	1,400	1,300	900
Fourth three years	1,600	1,300	1,000
After twelve years	1,800	1,600	1,200
Cadet Engineers (after examination)	1,000	800	600

PAY OF CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE U. S. ARMY.

GRADE OR RANK.	Pay of Officers in Active Service. Yearly Pay.				
	First 5 years service.	After 5 years service.	After 10 years service.	After 15 years service.	After 20 years service.
		10 *p. c.*	20 *p. c.*	30 *p. c*	40 *p. c.*
General	$13,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lieutenant-General	11,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Major-General	7,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brigadier-General	5,500	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colonel	3,500	$3,850	$4,200	$4,500	$4,500
Lieutenant-Colonel	3,000	3,300	3,600	3,900	4,000
Major	2,500	2,750	3,000	3,250	3,500
Captain, mounted	2,000	2,200	2,400	2,600	2,800
Captain, not mounted	1,800	1,980	2,160	2,340	2,520
Regimental Adjutant	1,800	1,980	2,160	2,340	2,520
Regimental Quartermaster	1,800	1,980	2,160	2,340	2,520
1st Lieutenant, mounted	1,600	1,760	1,920	2,080	2,240
1st Lieutenant, not mounted	1,500	1,650	1,800	1,950	2,100
2d Lieutenant, mounted	1,500	1,650	1,800	1,950	2,100
2d Lieutenant, not mounted	1,400	1,540	1,680	1,820	1,960
Chaplain	1,500	1,650	1,800	1,950	2,100

PAYMENTS FOR PENSIONS IN 1883.

STATES.	Pensions paid during the Year. For Regular Pensions.	For Arrears of Pensions.	Salary and Expenses of Pension Agents.	Total Disbursements.	Number of Pensioners. 1882.	1883.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.		
Maine	1,948,453.54	521.47	11,938.11	1,960,913.12	11,526	11,827
Massachusetts	4,045,320.08	4,091.60	18,858.60	4,068,270.28	22,004	23,495
Illinois	5,863,544.76	5,260.30	22,643.97	5,891,449.03	23,557	25,854
Ohio	5,636,155.64	8,431.57	23,562.99	5,668,150.20	26,163	27,686
New Hampshire	2,087,440.80	4,216.72	13,264.55	2,104,922.07	11,028	11,007
Iowa	3,616,997.31	1,413.73	14,358.56	3,632,769.60	13,860	16,052
Michigan	2,755,227.40	2,760.28	14,039.04	2,772,026.72	11,999	13,080
Indiana	5,100,507.50	4,126.67	17,483.23	5,122,117.40	18,805	20,921
Tennessee	2,842,400.69	7,483.83	15,379.76	2,865,264.28	17,693	17,189
Kentucky	1,600,370.16	7,353.60	8,353.37	1,616,077.13	6,606	7,001
Wisconsin	3,282,322.78	3,515.42	14,391.13	3,300,229.33	13,033	14,653
New York	2,809,535.73	3,965.93	19,205.99	2,832,707.65	16,017	16,141
Pennsylvania	3,176,762.17	5,364.72	17,997.49	3,200,124.38	18,715	19,300
Pennsylvania	3,054,975.95	4,081.47	13,224.50	3,072,281.92	16,250	16,006
California	408,379.66	.....	5,859.22	414,238.88	1,962	2,191
New York	4,088,557.37	2,198.01	19,240.51	4,109,995.89	20,962	22,338
Kansas	4,174,624.48	8,053.01	16,438.17	4,199,115.66	15,193	17,525
Dist. of Columbia	3,572,433.21	6,970.37	22,915.73	3,601,319.31	20,324	21,393
	60,061,000.23	77,808.70	288,154.92	60,431,972.85	285,697	303,658

BALANCE OF TRADE,

Showing our imports, our exports, and the excess either way for twenty years.

Year.	Merchandise at Gold Value.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Excess.
1864	$316,447,283	$158,887,988	Imports $157,559,295
1865	238,745,580	162,013,500	Imports 76,732,082
1866	434,812,066	348,859,522	Imports 85,952,544
1867	395,763,100	297,303,653	Imports 98,459,447
1868	357,436,440	281,952,899	Imports 75,483,541
1869	417,506,379	286,117,697	Imports 131,388,682
1870	435,958,408	392,771,768	Imports 43,186,640
1871	520,223,684	442,820,178	Imports 77,403,506
1872	626,505,077	444,177,586	Imports 182,417,491
1873	642,136,210	522,479,317	Imports 119,656,288
1874	567,406,342	586,283,040	Exports 18,876,698
1875	533,005,436	513,441,711	Imports 19,563,725
1876	460,741,191	540,384,671	Exports 79,623,480
1877	451,323,126	602,475,220	Exports 152,152,094
1878	437,051,532	694,848,496	Exports 257,796,964
1879	445,777,775	710,439,441	Exports 264,661,666
1880	667,954,746	835,638,658	Exports 167,683,912
1881	642,664,628	902,367,346	Exports 259,702,718
1882	724,639,574	750,542,257	Exports 25,902,683
1883	723,180,914	823,839,402	Exports 100,658,488

Year.	Specie.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Excess.
1864	$13,115,612	$105,396,541	Exports $92,280,929
1865	9,810,072	67,643,226	Exports 57,833,154
1866	10,700,092	86,044,071	Exports 75,343,079
1867	22,070,475	60,868,372	Exports 38,797,897
1868	14,188,368	93,784,102	Exports 79,595,734
1869	19,807,876	57,138,380	Exports 37,330,504
1870	26,419,179	58,155,666	Exports 31,736,486
1871	21,270,024	98,441,988	Exports 77,171,964
1872	13,743,689	79,877,534	Exports 66,133,845
1873	21,480,937	84,608,574	Exports 63,127,637
1874	28,454,906	56,630,405	Exports 28,175,499
1875	20,900,727	92,132,142	Exports 71,231,425
1876	15,936,681	56,506,302	Exports 40,569,621
1877	40,774,414	56,162,237	Exports 15,387,753
1878	29,821,314	33,733,225	Exports 3,911,911
1879	20,296,000	24,997,441	Exports 4,701,441
1880	93,034,310	17,142,919	Imports 75,891,391
1881	110,575,497	19,406,847	Imports 91,168,650
1882	42,472,390	49,417,479	Exports 6,945,089
1883	28,489,391	31,820,333	Exports 3,330,942

	Year Ended June 30.	Amount collected.	Expense of collecting.	Per cent. of cost.
THE CUSTOMS REVENUE.	1858	$41,789,620.96	$2,903,336.89	6.94
	1859	49,565,824.38	3,407,931.77	6.85
	1860	53,187,511.87	3,337,188.15	6.27
	1861	39,582,125.64	2,843,455.84	7.18
	1862	49,056,397.62	3,276,560.39	6.67
	1863	69,059,642.40	3.181,026.17	4.60
	1864	102,316,152.99	4,192,582.43	4.09
	1865	84 928,260.60	5,415,449.32	6.39
	1866	179,046,651.58	5,342,469.99	2.98
	1867	176,417,810.88	5,763,979.01	3.26
	1868	164,464,599.56	7,641,116.68	4.65
	1869	180,048,426.63	5,388,082.31	2.99
	1870	194,538,374.44	6,233,747.68	3.20
	1871	206,270,408.05	6,568,350.61	3.18
	1872	216,370,286.77	6,950,173.88	3.21
	1873	188,089.522.70	7,077,864.70	3.76
	1874	163,103,833.69	7,321,469.94	4.49
	1875	157,167,722.35	7,028,521.80	4.47
	1876	148,071,984.61	6,704,858.09	4.53
	1877	130,956,493.07	6,501,037.57	4.96
	1878	130,170,680.20	5,826,974.32	4.47
	1879	137,250,047.70	5,477,421.52	3.99
	1880	186,522,064.60	6,023,253.53	3.23
	1881	198,159.076.02	6,383,288.10	3.22
	1882	220,410,730.25	6,506,359.26	2.95
	1883	214,706,496.93	6,593,509.43	3.07
THE INTERNAL REVENUE.	1863	$37,640,787.95	$108,685.00	0.29
	1864	109,741,134.10	253,372.99	0.23
	1865	209,464,215.25	385,239.52	0.18
	1866	309,226,813.42	5,783,128.77	1.87
	1867	266,027,537.43	7,335,029.81	2.77
	1868	191,087,589.41	8,705,366.36	4.55
	1869	158,356,460.86	7,257,176.11	4.59
	1870	184,899,756.49	7,253,439.81	3.92
	1871	143,098,153.63	7,593,714.17	5.30
	1872	130,642,177.72	5,694,116.86	4.36
	1873	113,729,314.14	5,340,230.00	4.69
	1874	102,409,784.90	4,509,976.05	4.40
	1875	110,007,493.58	4,289,442.71	3.89
	1876	116,700,732.03	3,942,613.72	3.38
	1877	118,630,407.83	3,556,943.85	2.99
	1878	110,581,624.74	3,280,162.22	2.96
	1879	113,561,610.58	3,527,956.56	3.16
	1880	124,009,373.92	3,657,105.10	2.95
	1881	135,264,385.51	4,327,793.24	3.20
	1882	146,497,595.45	4,097,241.34	2.79
	1883	144,720,368.98	4,424,707,39	3.05

PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

[*To January 1st of each year to 1842. To July 1st, from 1843–1883.*]

1791	$75,463,476 52	1838	$10,434,221 14
1792	77,227,924 66	1839	3,573,343 82
1793	80,352,634 04	1840	5,250,875 54
1794	78,427,404 77	1841	13,594,480 73
1795	80,747,587 39	1842	20,601,226 28
1796	83,762,172 07	1843	32,742,922 00
1797	82,064,479 33	1844	23,461,652 50
1798	79,228,529 12	1845	15,925,303 01
1799	78,408,669 77	1846	15,550,202 97
1800	82,976,294 35	1847	38,826,534 77
1801	83,038,050 80	1848	47,044,862 23
1802	86,712,632 25	1849	63,061,858 69
1803	77,054,686 30	1850	63,452,773 55
1804	86,427,120 88	1851	68,304,796 02
1805	82,312,150 50	1852	66,199,341 71
1806	75,723,270 66	1853	59,803,117 70
1807	69,218,398 64	1854	42,242,222 42
1808	65,196,317 97	1855	35,586,858 56
1809	57,023,192 09	1856	31,972,537 90
1810	53,173,217 52	1857	28,699,831 85
1811	48,005,587 76	1858	44,911,881 03
1812	45,209,737 90	1859	58,496,837 88
1813	55,962,827 57	1860	64,842,287 88
1814	81,487,846 24	1861	90,580,873 72
1815	99,833,660 15	1862	524,176,412 13
1816	127,334,933 74	1863	1,119,772,138 63
1817	123,491,965 16	1864	1,815,784,370 57
1818	103,466,633 83	1865	2,680,647,869 74
1819	95,529,648 28	1866	2,773,236,173 69
1820	91,015,566 15	1867	2,678,126,103 87
1821	89,987,427 66	1868	2,611,687,851 19
1822	93,546,676 98	1869	2,588,452,213 94
1823	90,875,877 28	1870	2,480,672,427 81
1824	90,269,777 77	1871	2,353,211,332 32
1825	83,788,432 71	1872	2,253,251,328 78
1826	81,054,059 99	1873	2,234,482,993 20
1827	73,987,357 20	1874	2,251,690,468 43
1828	67,475,043 87	1875	2,232,284,531 95
1829	58,421,413 67	1876	2,180,395,067 15
1830	48,565,406 50	1877	2,205,301,392 10
1831	39,123,191 68	1878	2,256,205,892 53
1832	24,322,235 18	1879	2,245,495,072 04
1833	7,001,698 83	1880	2,120,415,370 63
1834	4,760,082 08	1881	2,069,013,569 58
1835	37,513 05	1882	1,918,312,994 03
1836	336,957 83	1883	1,884,171,728 07
1837	3,308,124 07		

POLITICAL DIVISION OF THE PRESENT HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

States.	Dem.	Rep.	States.	Dem.	Rep.
Alabama	8	.....	Missouri	14	.....
Arkansas	5	.....	Nebraska	.....	3
California	6	.....	Nevada	1	.....
Colorado	.....	1	New Hampshire	.....	2
Connecticut	3	1	New Jersey	3	4
Delaware	1	.....	New York	21	13
Florida	1	1	North Carolina	8	1
Georgia	10	.....	Ohio	13	8
Illinois	9	11	Oregon	.....	1
Indiana	9	4	Pennsylvania	12	15
Iowa	4	7	Rhode Island	.....	2
Kansas	.....	7	South Carolina	6	1
Kentucky	9	2	Tennessee	8	2
Louisiana	5	1	Texas	10	1
Maine	.....	4	Vermont	.....	2
Maryland	4	2	Virginia	4	5
Massachusetts	3	9	West Virginia	3	1
Michigan	6	5	Wisconsin	6	3
Minnesota	.....	5			
Mississippi	6	.....	Total	198	124

Total 322
Greenback 1
Vacancies 2
—— 325

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NOV 2 1995
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Life of Gen. Ben Harrison
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